This photograph of the Emperor and King and the son of the present Crown Prince was made on September 15, 1914, when rumors of the death of His Majesty made the round of the press abroad.

Austria-Hungary and the War

BY

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IN

CLEVELAND, OHIO

WITH A PREFACE BY

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INTRODUCTION

I recommend to the kind attention of the American public this book, written by the Austro-Hungarian consul in Cleveland, on certain vital phases of the struggle which is convulsing Europe. The reader will find in these chapters a comprehensive presentation of the political forces and historical developments which led to the initial clash of arms. This volume contains authentic information about the Near East, a region so little known in the United States; it offers a graphic description of conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two Austrian provinces coveted by Servia, and throws an illuminating light upon the real, the underlying, causes of the world-conflict. These causes I may be permitted to summarize in concise form.

It should be borne clearly in mind at the outset that for more than a century Austria-Hungary and Russia have been keen rivals in the Balkan Peninsula. Owing to its geographical position the Dual Monarchy is the predominant economic factor in Southeastern Europe, and in the course of her commercial expansion has sought, quite naturally, to secure a market for the output of her industries in Servia, Bulgaria and European Turkey. On the other hand Russia, swayed by sentimental and territorial considerations, has sought to exercise exclusive control over the newly constituted Slav

countries of the Balkans. This claim to political mastery the Russian government has based upon the racial affinity of all Slavic nations, upon the bond of kinship offered by the Greek church, common to all the Balkan states, and upon the fact that these states owe their existence to the many wars waged by the great Northern power upon the Turkish empire.

Back of the activities of Russian diplomacy in the Balkan Peninsula is her legitimate desire to secure the opening of the straits of Constantinople, closed to her by treaties, and thus to obtain a free outlet from the Black Sea for her commerce and her crops, and the unhampered passage of her fleet to the Mediterranean. In the pursuit of these objects the statecraft of St. Petersburg has sought to control the Balkan states and to prevent any of them, especially a vigorous and progressive Bulgaria, from occupying Constantinople, the key to the Dardanelles. In her endeavors to establish and maintain such a hegemony in Balkan affairs, Russia inevitably has menaced the vital commercial interests of Austria-Hungary.

The antagonism between Russia and Austria-Hungary found expression in perpetual diplomatic strife, aggravated by the underground activities of Russian consuls, reinforced by unofficial agents and priests. Austria-Hungary, in support of her interests in the disputed region, could employ no such extraneous forces as were placed within the grasp of Russia by the accident of her kinship to

the Balkan states, but relied upon her commercial travellers and upon the importance of the economic interests common to the Dual Monarchy and the small states south of the Danube.

After the congress of Berlin in 1878, which was called to adjust the boundaries of Southeastern Europe following the Russo-Turkish war, the newly created kingdom of Servia maintained, through King Milan, close relations with Austria-Hungary. Inasmuch as the Dual Monarchy had received from Europe a mandate for the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the restoration of order in those two Turkish provinces, King Milan, and subsequently his son, King Alexander, relinquished every pretension to expansion westward into Bosnia and Herzegovina, and concentrated their efforts upon an educational campaign in Macedonia, especially in the districts inhabited by a Bulgarian population.

This régime of harmony was interrupted violently in 1903, by the assassination of King Alexander and the election of King Peter Karageorgevitch, the scion of a banished house, to the Servian throne. No sooner had the Karageorgevitch been restored than it became apparent to all the world that a new order had been established in Servia. An aggressive pro-Russian reigned at Belgrade. The beginning of the new rule was also the beginning of that rapid process of subordination to Russian dictation whereby Servia became a mere outpost of Russia, chosen to provoke and harass the neighboring

Dual Monarchy for the purposes of Russian diplomacy.

The Servian nationalist agitation on the Austrian side of the border was carried on upon a large scale, by such organizations as the Narodna Obrana, to which some of the highest officers of state, civil and military, openly belonged. The Narodna Obrana carried on its operations in Belgrade, under the full view of the authorities, promoting political discord beyond the Austrian frontier under the pretence of educational work ostensibly aimed at the cultural uplift of the Austrian Slavs.

Then came the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a defensive measure undertaken by the Austro-Hungarian government in 1908, to meet the demand of the Young Turks, then in power at Constantinople, for the restoration to an Ottoman administration of the provinces which the Congress of Berlin had entrusted to Austria thirty years earlier as the only practicable means of restoring order in them. Russia, despite repeated secret understandings by which the foreign office at St. Petersburg had recognized the Austrian position in Bosnia and Herzegovina, now took passionate umbrage at the act which merely regularized the status of territories already within the boundaries of the Dual Monarchy. The press of St. Petersburg bitterly protested against the annexation, which it endeavored to present in the light of a deadly blow at the interests of the Slavic race.

The attitude of Russia was reflected in a redoub-

ling of the anti-Austrian agitation in Servia. At this point the Servian propaganda in Bosnia and Herzegovina dropped the educational mask and became openly political and provocative. Apostles from Belgrade began to traverse the Austrian provinces, preaching the gospel of sedition and violence. So menacing a tone did the Servian people adopt toward Austria-Hungary that the Dual Monarchy found a partial mobilization, at a high cost, imperatively necessary in view of the turmoil on the Servian side of the boundary. At this juncture of events there was grave peril of an actual outbreak of hostilities, which calamity was happily averted for the time being by the vigorous stand taken by Germany in championship of the vital interests of her ally.

Confronted by a united Germanic support of the accomplished fact, Russia yielded her recognition of the annexation and Servia pledged herself to discontinue her provocative tactics against public order in Austria-Hungary. Both Russia and Servia were destined to repudiate their solemn undertakings at the first opportunity that offered. The next blow aimed at the Dual Monarchy by Russia in her persistent attempts to exclude Austrian commercial influence from the Balkans came five years after the international crisis of 1909. It took the form of a Balkan League, contrived in St. Petersburg, and comprising Servia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro.

This confederation was designed, ostensibly, to expel the Turk from Europe. The dominance of

Russia over the workings of the new grouping of Balkan powers was assured by a secret clause in the treaty, whereby the minor signatories bound themselves not to undertake a war against Turkey without Russia's consent, and which also conferred upon Russia the right of final decision in the distribution of territory that might be conquered by the allies. Moreover, the government at St. Petersburg obtained from the allies a pledge that they should make common cause to the limits of their resources in case of an attack by another power. This clause in the agreement was aimed at Austria-Hungary. It contained the complete explanation of the zealous efforts which Russia had made to bring the discordant Balkan elements together. That this alliance should hurl itself against Turkey in 1912, before the time was ripe for Russia's contemplated action against Austira-Hungary, and that it should destroy itself by its own violence in the second Balkan war, were events which had not been contemplated by Russian diplomacy.

However, Russia found a way to profit even from the unexpected course which events had taken. By encouraging Servian pretensions at the end of the first Balkan war, the Russians succeeded in strengthening Servia, their outpost against Austria-Hungary, at the expense of Bulgaria, which thus was deprived of the fruits of its splended victories over Turkey.

Austria-Hungary had once more come perilously near a clash with Servia in the first Balkan war,

when the neighboring Slav kingdom, disregarding the warning of the powers, advanced to the Adriatic. Austria-Hungary met the situation by bringing about the creation of an independent Albania as a barrier to the establishment of a hostile maritime neighbor on the Adriatic.

At the congress of Bucharest, however, Servia, with Russian backing, advanced territorial claims which threatened the equilibrium of the Balkans. So menacing to its legitimate interests did the government at Vienna regard this new Russo-Servian aggression, that the ministry of foreign affairs made inquiries at Rome and in Berlin in an attempt to obtain assurances of co-operation in the event that the current developments should force upon the Dual Monarchy the task of restoring the balance of power so necessary to the complete tranquillization of Southeastern Europe. This inquiry, which was presented to the attention of the world recently by Signor Giolitti, former premier of Italy, as an indication of aggressive designs against Servia by Austria-Hungary, was in fact a purely precautionary measure. It was undertaken in an effort to induce a revision of the treaty of Bucharest—an instrument regarded at Vienna as an oppressive device which, by perpetuating the resentment of the Bulgarian people, the strongest unit in the Balkan Peninsula, introduced the constant danger of a future conflict. Austria-Hungary realized so thoroughly the significance of the latest move by Russia on the international chess-board, that it was only by

the pacific influences exerted from the highest quarters in the empire that a clash was averted at this juncture. The treaty of Bucharest, accordingly, was permitted to stand in its original form, thanks to the desire of Austria-Hungary to avert a violation of the peace of Europe even at the cost of a palpable menace to her own security.

From this moment Servia, assured of the protection of Russia, which had been put to the test during two wars, abandoned every reserve and openly plunged into a campaign of defiant provocation against the neighboring Austro-Hungarian empire. The agitation within the boundaries of the Slav kingdom for the erection of a greater Servia upon the ruins of a disintegrated Austria, assumed a violence which gave pause to even the most optimistic minds at Vienna. The Servian press, people and government united in a demonstration of malignant hostility which fell but a degree short of a declaration of war. Public opinion in the Dual Monarchy was so profoundly disturbed by the tumult beyond the border that the government was subjected to a storm of criticism for its continued attitude of forbearance.

At the same time there were other disquieting manifestations of the activities of the Russian propaganda; activities beyond the sphere of the Servian agitation—in Eastern Galicia, among the Poles and the Ruthenians, in addition to the normal missionary work which Russia had been carrying on among all the Slavic peoples in the Dual Monarchy.

Secret Russian agents, in many instances in the guise of priests of the Orthodox Russian church, developed an ominous zeal in their mission of propagating disaffection among the subjects of the Austrian crown and preparing the way for the great "deliverer" from the North.

And the sinister climax to all this subterranean contriving came with the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand by a "patriotic" Serb youth at Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, on June 28th. That crowning act in the series of provocations confronted Austria-Hungary with the choice of accepting without protest the beginnings of disintegration, or drawing the sword in defence of its imperilled sovereignty. War was the only choice possible. It is not a war waged by a government for its own aggrandizement. It is a struggle for life, undertaken by a people whose temper has been long and sorely tried by the malicious machinations of neighbors to whom the continuance of peace was only an opportunity for interminable conspiracies against the tranquillity and the dignity of the Dual Empire.

KONSTANTIN THEODOR DUMBA,
Ambassador of Austria-Hungary.

WASHINGTON, DEC. 20TH, 1914.

FOREWORD

Perhaps it will not be found necessary for me to state that I am not a neutral.

My official position would be a bar to this qualification. But although I lack in the technical requirements of a neutral, I trust that my American readers will say after they have read my book that I am not lacking in impartiality.

I have endeavored to erase all personal bias and ask for my readers indulgence if my presentation of our case does not come up fully to the expectations which they may entertain on this account.

I admit I sometimes felt discouraged, when I heard leading representatives of the press, personal friends of mine, say: "There is no use, the American people have made up their mind. They believe this is the Kaiser's war. They think that this war will not end until militarism both in your country and Germany will be crushed," etc.

I have deemed it my duty from the first moment after I had returned from Europe in September to present our side to the public in a calm, dignified manner. This duty, moreover, as will be found natural, is also a duty imposed by my office.

In some instances I have succeeded, but in many others not. Articles writen to magazines setting forth our side were returned with polite excuses. The editors regretted that they were unable to pub-

lish them, because, while appreciating the privilege of perusing them, the subject of the article did not fall within the scope of the magazine, or words to that effect. That is why I was prompted to write this book.

We would like to convince the American public that this war was not of our making. It was forced upon us. Outward appearances may perhaps seem in contradiction to our view, but appearances are seldom conclusive.

Formally we may have made the first step, when our note was sent to Servia; but in its substance this step was merely the outcome of a great many others made before by our adversary, until our patience finally gave way. Any other country with self-respect would have acted as we did. This we know to be true.

I venture the prediction that this war will be of short duration. Both sides will soon see the uselessness of continuing the struggle when the forces are about even and neither side can totally destroy the other. *I believe, however, that the gain will be with our side.* A slight gain, perhaps, but still a gain. I base this belief on the fact becoming more evident as the war is progressing that the people of Austria-Hungary and Germany are linked in a much firmer union than the people of our present allied enemies.

We believe that "Niebelungentreue" prompted Germany to gird on her sword for us. Niebelungentreue is an equivalent to German loyalty. This

loyalty both our peoples will mutually keep unto the end. We will stand and fall together.

While we fight, since fight we must, it is our ambition to uphold all principles of international law and of human, Christian civilization. Just as our State Minister of Home Affairs in Hungary, Dr. John von Sándor, wrote to Count Albert Apponyi, president of the committee for the support of wounded and prisoners of war: "Our society at large has a duty to accomplish which should go even beyond international treaties and agreements. It is necessary to protect those against the rigors of bad weather and other hardships who have raised their arms against us as honest enemies, following the call of their home countries. Society's sympathy displayed in behalf of prisoners of war was and is never opposed to true patriotism."

I have no desire to impose my or our views concerning this war on the American public. Americans do not yield to force. They may yield to argument, if argument is convincing. I used genuine efforts to make it as convincing as humanly possible and I shall have genuine pleasure to hear that it made at least some Americans yield.

E. L.

CLEVELAND, NOVEMBER 15, 1914.

I.—POINTS OF HUMAN INTEREST AND THE WAR IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

To-day, that is on November 15th when I write these lines, discussions over questions, as for instance which country started war preparations first, which country prompted the war, have much more purely academic value than they had three months ago, when the war broke out; and yet the necessity of a satisfactory solution of these questions, whether of purely academic interest or otherwise, becomes daily more apparent. Their solution will, indeed, become a paramount issue, after the last man able to hold his rifle will have paid his toll to his country on the battle-field. It will be demanded by everybody when the routine of peace negotiations will be resumed. People and governments of the various countries involved in this war and of other interested and sympathetic bystanders will demand that clearness should be brought into these questions.

To judge a case before all evidence is in shows a prejudiced mind. To make Germany responsible for this world imbroglio, because one or possibly a few of her theoreticians have asserted that militarism is everything, demonstrates a deplorable bias. It is just as deplorable as would be, for instance, demonstrated by German sympathizers, were these latter to assert that Great Britain is responsible because of the attitude and utterances of some of

her war writers on militarism. And England also has had her "Bernhardis." If Homer Lea and his "Day of the Saxon" dedicated to the late Field Marshal Lord Roberts is less known to-day to the English speaking world, it is because the British advertisers on both sides of the Atlantic have for obvious reasons drawn more attention to Bernhardi than to Homer Lea. Dr. von Mach, in his excellent book on "What Germany Wants," has commented on this war-study, and excerpts from it are reprinted in Appendix B of his book. These clearly indicate that Homer Lea's war spirit yields in nothing to General von Bernhardi's.

Neither of the war-books, however, is an evidence for or against the country which produces the writer. It is hardly believable that they would be accepted even as circumstantial evidence in any court of public opinion of the civilized world. They are in no way, either directly or indirectly, connected with the war, nor could they have prompted it. These books are not even of symptomatic interest with reference to the war, as they, at the very best, represent the ideas of a small minority in each respective country only.

Not theoretical evidence will be required when the final wind-up comes, but facts; simple, plain facts, the relative importance of which everybody grasps.

I believe, for instance, the pronounced efforts made by one or the other country shortly before the general conflagration to increase the annual con-

tingent of their recruits, should be a strong circumstantial evidence against that country or those countries in such a Supreme Court of public opinion. The appropriation by the Russian Duma for the increase of the annual contingent of recruits by 125,000 during three years, shortly before the war began, is such a fact. France's measure to raise the peace-footing of her army to nearly 800,000 men, which is practically the peace establishment of the German army, although Germany's population is more than twenty millions more than France's, is another such fact. Germany's correlative measures would be another, but if Germany had to follow her neighbor's example this does not detract from the importance of these facts in a court called upon to decide which country made the first move.

I have no intention to argue here on the question who started this war. Developments in this war-drama have not yet reached the stage where anybody could have in an unbiased way collected all evidence referring to this point. All that any one of us can do who desires to perform his duty in an honest and conscientious way is to make contributions from his store of knowledge and information. Little by little the general store of material will accumulate and the world will have a clearer grasp of the situation. This desire should be generalized in preference to the manifestations of some people that no further information is necessary, because the question of responsibility concerning this war is

already settled. They omit to add that "it is settled in their mind." A jury deciding a case before evidence was submitted is not liable to be upheld by the Court, if this fact would be proved against its members.

In this chapter I propose to comment on questions of more general human interest concerning this war, which are based on my observations during my recent vacation trip in Europe. I think it is noteworthy to draw the attention of my American readers to the fact that as a member of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Service in the United States, I started on my leave as late as July the 18th. It is a general rule, which is in force probably in every civilized country that in warlike times, "leaves" of all members of a country's army and navy, and its foreign service are instantly suspended. Everybody has to return to his post of duty. Had my country planned to start a war against various European countries or even one, had it even thought that such a war was impending, it would most decidedly have instructed all its embassies and legations to countermand all leaves of the various foreign staff-members. Instead of which, however, two of my American colleagues, our Consul-General in New York, and our Consul in San Francisco, had left on their respective "leaves" about the time when I left. I am not conversant with other similar moves of my colleagues in other parts of the world, but the fact alone that the three heads of some of our most important Consular offices in the United States were

allowed to leave, would indicate that our Government had no warlike intentions. It must be noted in this connection that Consulates, in the early beginnings of war especially, have to perform very important duties, such as calling in of their country's reservists and all persons liable to military service, care for transportation of these people to the seat of war in their country, etc. As another significant feature it must also be emphasized that the German Ambassador was likewise in Europe in July on his leave, which would hardly have been possible had his country planned to war with France and Russia and the whole world, as some people would like to make it out. I am also in a position to state that until the last days of July, when war was actually declared, no reservists or officers of our army had had been called in to join the ranks.

On the other hand, we have the evidence of Sam Blythe, of the *Saturday Evening Post,* whom the American public knows as a trusted, reliable informant, that as early as the 31st of July quite a number of British officers from the Pacific Coast, Vancouver, etc., were leaving from New York to England after they had been called in by the war office hurriedly. In order to leave from New York on an Atlantic steamer practically at the height of the season, they must have made their reservations some time previously. But even if they were all able to secure hurried reservations in the nick of time, it is safe to assume that they must have left the Pacific Coast at least a week before they started

from New York on the 31st of July. On the 23d or 24th of July, however, nobody on the Continent of Europe had any idea that England would be in war with Germany. Owing to my absence I cannot verify whether or not this was known in the United States.

We have similar news from other parts of the world confirming Mr. Blythe's above information. Thus the "Peking Gazette" of July 28th conveyed the information from Hankow that the crew of some British gunboats stationed there had received hurried orders to leave their station and to proceed to Hongkong and Weihaiwei, where they were to be used for the manning of some armored cruisers, and as reserves for some warships, whose crews were not yet on war footing. The gunboats in Hankow—so it was stated—were left in charge of private guards, after some parts of same had been dismounted, disabling these boats for practical use. We incidentally from the same source likewise know, that on July 30th the Imperial Chinese Telegraph Office in Tientsin gave out notice that the cables between Shanghai and Chefoo had been disabled and no further Berlin cables arrived from that day on. From far Eastern papers it would appear that England and Japan in the Far East were ready for action on ar around July 30th. The British fleet was concentrated in Weihaiwei on July 28th, the French fleet in East Asia in Haiphong on the 1st of August.

On the 1st of August Peking papers positively

stated that Japan would go to war against Germany jointly with England.

I give these reports merely as some additional symptomatic evidence to clear up some phases of the ante-war situation. I am frank to state that they are open to further investigation. When peace will be established all this and much other evidence will be examined and verified or excluded, just as the finding may be. It is of course impossible for any human being to know all that has been going on in the various parts of the world within the last few months.

GERMAN EMPEROR LOVER OF PEACE.

My party, consisting of my wife, myself and Mr. Howard W. Baker, a friend of ours from Minneapolis, sailed on the "Imperator" from New York on the 18th of July. We arrived in Cuxhaven, Hamburg, on the 25th of July. By that time Austria-Hungary had sent her note to Servia and the enthusiasm of the masses in Hamburg was high. Thousands of people thronged to the Austro-Hungarian Consulate General displaying the sympathies which the German people in general felt for the people of Austria-Hungary. War between Austria-Hungary and Servia was in those first days still considered a vague possibility only. It was miles away from our own minds.

The same scenes of enthusiasm were repeated in Berlin, where we arrived the next day. Yet we would not give credence to the war rumors, although

there was undoubtedly much electricity in the air. You could feel its prick when you rubbed shoulders with the crowds on Berlin's great Avenue Unter den Linden. On the following day we drove out to Potsdam. This was the day on which the German Emperor was expected back from his northern cruise. He was expected to arrive at three o'clock in the afternoon at the station close to the New Palace. Many American tourists had assembled there on the chaussée, leading up to the entrance of the new palace.

When we saw the Emperor and Empress driven past, followed by the Chancellor of the German Empire, the Chiefs of the General Staff, the Chiefs of the Navy and Army, I had the first premonition of the situation's earnest. So must have had the Emperor, as his expression looked careworn. I belong to the many who, with Professor Burgess, are convinced *that the German Emperor always has been a man of peace.* Carrying with him the doubtless pleasant impressions of his annual summer vacation cruise, which had to be abruptly broken off, he no doubt also realized at that moment the terrible burden and grief of the impending great catastrophe which rests so heavily upon his shoulders. I again ask my readers, would the German Emperor have gone on his leave, had he premeditated, nay, even foreseen developments? Considerations which hold good for mere mortals often also hold good for emperors and heads of a country, and this is certainly one of them.

This first chapter should bring out points of human interest rather than heavy war material, and this is why I comment here on my own first impressions of the war, just as they gradually developed.

The next two days saw us in Dresden. By that time war-fever had visibly risen. The first hostilities between our Monarchy and Servia had started, but Germany was still miles away from her personal wars. Everywhere symptoms increased in number that Russia would take advantage of the local difficulties existing between Austria-Hungary and Servia. Her secret agents must have undoubtedly received information to that effect, as their activities were noticeable on many points of the German-Russian frontier. In Dresden, for instance, a plot had been discovered three days prior to our arrival there to blow up the railway bridge. Because of this discovery, the hangar with the Zeppelin airship was closed the day following our arrival.

WAR ENTHUSIASM IN AUSTRIA.

After two days' stay we continued our way to Carlsbad. The route over Bodenbach had been already closed to general passenger traffic, but the Teschen line stood open. This was on the 31st of July. At one station in Bohemia the door of our compartment was all of a sudden thrown open and an excited young man rushed in. "Have you heard the latest news?" he shouted at us. "General mobilization will be ordered to-day. That means Ger-

many, Italy, France, Russia, in war. What will England do?" We were unprepared for the answer. As I stated before, the idea of a general European complication was far away from our minds. We were all confident that hostilities would be limited to the area between Austria-Hungary and Servia. The terrible disaster of a general war came as an entirely unexpected shock.

As late as the day of our departure from Dresden we were continuing to plan motor trips across Hungary, the Austrian Alps, Italy and other countries. Everybody around us in the train coming from abroad must have been visited by a similar shock. There was much life visible in each station which our train passed and it was easy to observe that the crowds waxed more and more enthusiastic as we proceeded. The people of Austria-Hungary keenly felt the injury done by Servia to our country during many years. The country had been kept in suspense by her little neighbor ever since the Balkan war trouble. Because of Servia's hostile attitude appropriate military measures had to be adopted to guard against surprises on our Southern frontier. But most of all general market conditions labored under the strain of the long suspense. Everybody felt that Russia stood behind Servia, driving her along. The people did not require White Books, Orange Books, to verify their apprehension in regard to Russia's participation. If the people of a whole country suspect the people and government of another country to harbor de-

signs against their own country, their suspicions are rarely wrong. It would be impossible to recount all the indications which led up to these suspicions. Suffice it to say that the people realized that Russia and Servia were their unflinching enemies and war with them was inevitable.

Our general mobilization following the mobilization of the Russian army which had to our best knowledge been going on for many days or weeks even, lifted the general suspense of uncertainty all at once. Our people had been suffering under it for a long time. It was like lifting a heavy millstone from them, and this accounts partially for the general great elation which followed; but only partially, for the real grounds for the general elation and enthusiasm which have prevailed ever since that memorable day lay much deeper, as my readers will see from this chapter. At that moment, however, everybody spoke freely of the things which were uppermost in his mind. And this is undoubtedly why the excited young man had asked us about England's attitude, thinking that we might be in a position to enlighten him.

Up to that moment probably nobody in our country had contemplated England's part in this war. Never have Austria-Hungary and England been in war before. In the times of the Napoleonic wars we were fighting together against France's great "War-Lord." Relations between our two countries had always been very cordial. King Edward VII used to visit Marienbad in Bohemia regularly for

many years. His visit acted undoubtedly as an incentive to frequent visits of English people in our summer health resorts, in Vienna, Budapest, etc. The visit of the Eighty Club to Austria-Hungary hardly ten years ago is still in everybody's mind, and I personally have many pleasant recollections of that visit. Since then, and in particular drawing nearer to our days, representative British men have often expressed their sympathies with us. This was especially the case in connection with our Servian troubles. Sir Fairfax Cartwright, British Ambassador in Vienna, said to the editor of the Vienna *Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1909: "Make war and deal quickly with Servia before anybody can stop you. The end of Servia will be a blessing for all Europe." Before the beginning of the present crisis the British Ambassador in Vienna, Sir E. de Bunsen, remarked to the same editor: "Be convinced that the whole English nation condemns the criminals of Sarajevo. No Englishman has any sympathy left for Servia. We are already tired of being thrown again into disquietude by this little country, and there is no Englishman who does not wish heartily that Servia should receive a sound and lasting lesson." The above-named paper vouches for the correctness of these statements, and there is no reason to doubt its veracity.

I selected these statements at random, but many other similar evidences have been forthcoming lately to indicate that England was in sympathy with our side. As late as the 17th of July the *West-*

minister Gazette in London said that it was impossible to expect the Austro-Hungarian Government to stand by impassively. Servia would do well if she considered the just anxieties of her great neighbor and would do all to pacify him. She should not wait for pressure, which, as Count Tisza, the Hungarian premier, had said, might lead to warlike complications. The Servian press campaign undoubtedly had not improved and alleviated the general feeling after the Sarajevo murder. Vienna and Budapest were justly suspicious.

I do not say that all these expressions and statements occurred to me at that moment, although as a problem the British attitude just then was highly interesting to all of us.

We spent one day in Carlsbad and then proceeded on our way via Prague to Vienna. I shall never forget the countless scenes of enthusiasm which I witnessed during those days and during the following weeks which I spent in Austria-Hungary. The points of my personal observation were naturally limited as to number and area, as passenger railway traffic in the first days of mobilization was greatly handicapped, as was to be expected. But through the daily press, through many friends with whom I was able to communicate, I was certainly able and in a position to collect data of interest.

I begin with Bohemia, where we then were. We have been often reading in foreign newspaper reports about strong pro-Russian leanings of the Bohemians. In these reports we were given to under-

stand that at the very first occasion, whether this would materialize in the shape of war or in some other shape, Bohemians would bolt and secede from the Monarchy. These fantastic predictions had of course no foundation beyond the fact that the German and Cech population were occasionally at loggerheads over questions of local politics. No outsider can apply a just measure to the framework of motley nationalities which compose the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. They are apt to overrate local dissensions and only too apt to overlook the strength of historic cohesion. Bohemian historians who proclaim the reign of Charles IV, who was elected emperor in 1347, as the golden age for Bohemia, whom they call the "father of his people," because he founded the University in Prague and generally improved the looks of the city and because he liked to live there, are all in accord that Emperor-King Francis Joseph's reign has been the second golden age for their country.

The task of the ruler has become more difficult since the days of Charles IV, and this is due to the complications of modern political life. Bohemia, during the reign of Emperor-King Francis Joseph, has become a wealthy country of first class industrial importance. Bohemian art and music have flourished during this period as never before. The use of Bohemian language in schools and administration is practically general. Bohemian autonomy has made great strides and Bohemians think to-day as their famous leader, Francis Palacky, thought

about fifty years ago. "We Techeques (Cechs)—so he said—can gain what we want and aspire to, in Austria alone. Beware, if ever we come under the Russian knout." All little misunderstandings of a local and political character were at once forgotten, when war broke out. Bohemians felt that their future and happiness were linked to the Monarchy's future. In Prague, capital of Bohemia, Cechs and Germans fell around each other's necks. Cechs and Germans went in throngs before the German Consulate in their city singing the "Wacht am Rhein" in Bohemian alternately with the Austrian anthem and their own song, "Kde Domov muj." They cheered both emperors and went to the Radetzky monument, from where Prince Lobkowitz addressed them in both languages—Bohemian and German. They also went before the palace of Prince Thun, Bohemia's Governor, cheering him and cheering the country. Industrious home-builders as they are known to be, they had no misgivings about the importance and seriousness of the impending war.

They may dislike the idea of war in theory, as everybody does, but everybody knows too well that an amalgamation with Russia would very soon make an end to their privileged position as a leading Slav people. Russians would soon force them to give up their individuality as a people. Moreover, they abhor the idea of being under a corrupt Russian rule. For every Bohemian knows that Russia is corrupt and Russian rule would spell

financial contributions not only to the Government alone, and in an altogether much larger degree than their present public charges, but would bring private exactions and graft of Russian public officers.

As a matter of loyalty Bohemians have been known as loyal and gallant soldiers in all wars which our country had to fight in the past, in 1866 against Prussia, and in 1878 in Bosnia. Reports from the front of the present war are all unanimous in their praise of Bohemian valor and loyalty. Bohemians in the present war have enthusiastically responded to the call to arms. Statements published in certain papers that Bohemian regiments had deserted, that Bohemians had shown disloyalty to their home country, are nothing but bold lies, made out of whole cloth.

On the contrary, Bohemians have given a splendid exhibition of their prowess on all battlefields, and this was recognized by the Chief Commander of the Army, the Emperor-King himself. The 54th Hannakian Infantry Regiment so far has been particularly the recipient of great praise for its valor.

At each station in Bohemia—and this is true of each station in the Monarchy—girls and women clad in white were expecting the military trains, to present the soldiers with flowers, cigars, cigarettes, coffee and sweets. It would be unjust were I to omit the part that women played in raising enthusiasm. Women have now as ever been instrumental in keeping up our national patriotism.

Vienna, where we proceeded next, presented the

aspect of a jubilant city. His Majesty the Emperor and King had just arrived there on the 30th of July from his usual summer resort in Ischl. Enthusiasm at his arrival knew no bounds. Nothing could have proved more conclusively that the war was not of his making and that the people stood by him unanimously, than the reception and cheers of the many ten thousands of crowds. These cheers meant the heart-beat of all the people of Austria-Hungary They represented the beginning of a great new era for the Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.

Instead of a general disruption and disintegration, which her enemies had fervently hoped for, the war had united everybody. All party, race and creed lines of a sudden ceased to exist. There has been some feeling between Austrians and Hungarians over questions of home policy, and as in the case of Bohemia they were apt to be exaggerated by people not familiar with our internal affairs. Now, however, these feelings have disappeared; Hungarian students and other Hungarians marching on the streets of Vienna and singing the Austrian, Hungarian and German anthems were loudly cheered by the Viennese. One student went before the monument of Admiral Tegethoff and addressed the crowds with the words: "May the heroic spirit of this great one inspire us all!"

The way the people of the whole country felt over the war is perhaps best expressed in the following article of the *Fremdenblatt,* a leading paper of Vienna: "The general mobilization of

Austria-Hungary is a measure of defense. Austria-Hungary is a peace-power and has always in the past proved that she was not inspired either by a wish of conquest or a desire for glory. We—so the article says—conduct this was for peace's sake, and the peace which we desire is one for the whole globe. Servia, through her policy of incommensurate ambition, does not allow Europe to regain the assurance of lasting peace. If she is taught a lesson, this would be a profit to all civilized peoples. It is therefore unjustified that the Russian Empire interferes in this struggle by throwing into the balance all her own military forces. We have to fight this struggle with our injudicious neighbor. There is no reason why she, Russia, should have to fight with us. We have never led an aggressive policy against Russia, either in the present or in the past. We cannot understand why our conflict with Servia should hurt the Russian sphere of interest. Servia is an independent state. A dependence of this kingdom at our flank on whatever third power we cannot admit. We are on the point to overthrow the group of conspirators which now leads and corrupts her. If Russia, when we prepare for this action, acts as if we were to attack a Russian vassal, we certainly must answer, that Servia is no Russian vassal state. Through her mobilization Russia has imposed a heavy burden not only on herself, but on the whole of Europe. Above all on our people. But we are convinced that our people will bear this burden with the cour-

age which has already shown such splendid expressions in these days."

WAR ENTHUSIASM IN HUNGARY.

Prague and Vienna were by no means alone in their enthusiasm. This was equally loud in Budapest, Zagreb, Lemberg, Zara, Innsbruck, Görz, Salzburg, Triest and everywhere in the Monarchy. In Budapest parliament was adjourned with a royal rescript on July 28th. At this occasion speeches were made by the leaders of political parties indicative of the general sentiment which inspired the whole country. The Premier, Count Tisza, said that the country was proud because of the spirit which had aroused the whole nation without distinction of nationality. "The whole nation enthusiastically hastens to follow the call of His Majesty to the flag, and we, members of Hungarian Government, feel the additional burden to our great and sacred duties due to the general enthusiasm. We must see that this enthusiasm is not spent in vain, and that it may also find expression in splendid deeds on the battlefield. It is our duty to exercise our influence in such a manner that this war, which is imposed on us and which we finally resolved to carry on after all our peaceful efforts had been frustrated, shall not come to an end until the honor and safety and peace of the Hungarian nation and of the whole Monarchy will be secured for our country for all time to come."

Count Albert Apponyi expressed the opinion of

all political parties formerly opposing Government, when he said that everybody was convinced of the unavoidability of the present reckoning and that by starting it we were merely performing a most elementary defensive duty. He also hoped that this action would be successful and make an end to the disease which practically compelled us every second year to order a mobilization. If we had stood these conditions any longer, we would have reached the point where Europe would have called us her second "sick man." Count Apponyi expressed hope that war would be localized to Servia and paid a glowing tribute to the loyalty of our German allies.

Another very significant speech which was delivered at the same time in the Hungarian House of Lords was that of the Right Reverend John Csernoch, Archbishop of Esztergom and Roman Catholic Primate of Hungary. He said in part: "The history of the Hungarian House of Lords has never witnessed a moment of similar earnest. Not in our history alone but in the history of the whole world we look in vain for outrageous events of the kind which preceded this moment of earnest." He then went on to discuss matters in Servia and said: "Servia has obstinately refused to comply with our just demands and has proven that she does not want to break with her old-time policies. Thus the right and duty devolved upon us to extinguish the firebrand at the frontier of our home country, to demand satisfaction for violated justice and order, and to chastise the guilty who have shed innocent

blood. . . . It is peace and not war that we want, but peace which leads to life and not to death or extinction. If ever a war was just, it is the present war, which does not only conform to strict law, but also to the most rigorous requirements of morality." He ended his speech with cheers for the King.

Thousands of people marched to the beautiful Palace of Archduke Joseph August in Buda across the Danube to assure him that the people of Hungary would stand by their king as they had forever in the past history of their country. Archduke Joseph August, who is tremendously popular with the people in Hungary, made a rousing patriotic speech.

Offers of help, financial and otherwise, poured in at the Red Cross and Aid for the Wounded headquarters in every city. Countess László Széchenyi, who was formerly Gladys Vanderbilt, offered her Budapest palace to the wounded of the war. The committee of the Social Democratic labor organization decided to hand one million crowns from the workmen compensation fund to the Hungarian Premier, asking him to invest it in state bonds or otherwise for the use of the country during the war.

Croatians far from sympathizing with Servia have enthusiastically thrown in their lot with their fellow-countrymen in the Monarchy. The Croatian house regiment at Warasdin achieved wonders of valor in our fights with Servia.

Of particular interest among the many declara-

tions of loyalty was the message sent by the representatives of the Servian orthodox population of the city and district of Bihac, Bosnia and of Mostar, Herzegovina. "The people," so this message ran, "deemed it their most sacred duty in these trying moments to declare solemnly that the Servian orthodox population stands loyally and unfalteringly by the throne of His Majesty the Emperor and King. Nothing could shake their unalterable loyalty to their sovereign and country." From this it can be seen that the Servians of the occupied provinces of Bosnia do not sympathize with the subversive methods of the Servians in Servia.

War history has likewise already recorded the staunch loyalty of Roumanian-Hungarians and Slovak-Hungarians. The former, who have a strong representation of their people in the 12th army corps, three-quarters of the whole corps being chiefly Roumanian-Hungarian, received high praise in the Army Order of September 1st. They had been in the fire of the enemy for six days without relief and never gave way. On the 27th of August one single company of the 62d Regiment, which is chiefly composed of Roumanian-Hungarians, repulsed three Russian battalions.

As to the latter, the 5th and 6th army corps, under Generals Puhallo and Boroevics, count many Slovak soldiers, who were congratulated repeatedly by the whole press for their splendid deeds on the Russian battlefields. During my sojourn in Hun-

gary, attempts were made by the Russians to lead the Slovaks to desertion and disloyalty. To this end the most unbelievable methods were adopted. Once for instance the rumor was circulated by them that Mr. Juriga, Slovak leader and member of the Hungarian Parliament, had been court-martialed and shot, because he was alleged to have advised his countrymen to abstain from fighting in the Austro-Hungarian army. For a few days this rumor persisted, then it was found that the rumor was "fake." Mr. Juriga, of course, never had been either court-martialed or shot and exhorted his countrymen to stand loyally by Austria-Hungary.

POLES AND THE WAR.

Without any doubt, however, two representative nationalities of the Monarchy were even more, and, if I may express myself so, personally interested in the war: the Poles of Galicia and the Ruthenians of Bukowina and Galicia and northeastern districts of Hungary. For these two people the war meant more than mere self-defense and a struggle to maintain national honor. It meant that the clock of time had struck for them to help to liberate their millions of brethren who are suffering under Russian yoke.

To the Galician Poles it brought back all at once the memories of the glorious past of their country. Of Mieczyslaw I, in 962-972, their first king, who had married the daughter of King Boleslav of Bohemia, inaugurating the early traditions of these

two people, Poles and Bohemians, which finally brought them together again under the common sceptre of the dynasty of Hapsburg and Austria-Hungary. In 1370-1382 Louis the Great of Hungary was also the King of Poland, and the first foundations of a friendship between Poles and Hungarians were laid which still endures.

In 1573 Poles looked for a king in France. They brought the brother of King Charles IX, Henry of Valois, home to their country after they had with great difficulty persuaded him to swear allegiance to their Constitution and the pacta conventa. But French enthusiasm for the Polish cause has hardly ever outlived the glory of first moments. King Henry fled from the country after a few months of residence, during which he had never felt at home.

In 1576 they selected their king again from Hungary, Transylvania electing Prince Stephen Báthory as their king. Under his reign, which lasted until 1586, Poland was a powerful country. The Baltic Sea formed its northern frontiers, the Black Sea its southern borders. But most glorious of them all was Jan Sobieski, who reigned under the name of John III from 1674-1694. "Let a Pole rule over Poland," was the slogan which elected him. He has gone down in history as the savior of Vienna against the Turks. The Turkish Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, approached Vienna with his army of 300,000 and all hope had been abandoned to save the city. Sobieski organized an army and

joined it with the Imperial troops of Charles of Lorraine. On the 12th of September, 1682, these two eminent generals defeated and completely routed the enemy, who left back an immense booty. "Non nobis, non nobis, Domine exercituum, sed nomini tuo da gloriam," said Sobieski in his prayer before the battle started, and he saved Christianity from the onslaught of the Orient.

After Sobieski, Poland's days of glory went in decline, until at the time of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, who was but a tool of the Czarina Catherine II of Russia, Poland had to submit to a first partition. Russia got the palatinates of Mscislaw and Witepsk and some other palatinates situated on the Dnieper, Prussia took the palatinates of Marienburg, the Pomorze, Warmia and a part of Great Poland. Austria had Red Russia or Galicia with parts of Podolia and Little Poland.

In 1793 the second partition followed, giving the remainder of Great Poland to Prussia and Lithuania and Volhynia to Russia.

1794 was the year of Kosciuszko's splendid but, owing to Russia, unsuccessful feats, which were followed in 1795 by the third partition of Poland. Austria had Cracow with the country between the Pilica, the Vistula and the Bug; Prussia had Warsaw with the territory as far as the Niemen, and the rest, the largest part, went to Russia. At each successive time when an enthusiastic reform movement of the Polish patriots promised success, Russia intervened in behalf of the reactionaries,

and she invariably also secured the largest slices of territory.

Then came the Napoleonic wars. Napoleon established the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, promising the Poles complete freedom under the Russian rule. At the congress of Vienna the Kingdom of Poland was established, but with the Czar as a king. Austria retained Galicia and the salt mines of Wieliczka, Prussia Posen. Cracow was declared an independent city.

The establishment of the Polish kingdom with the Czar was really a personal triumph of Prince Adam Czartoryski, who was a friend of the Czar and had done his utmost to make his countrymen realize that the success of their national aspirations was possible with Russian support only.

Russia, gradually gaining in power after a while, did not need the support of the Poles any longer and in the name of the Czar most oppressive measures were put in force. In the two revolutions of 1830 and 1863 the Russian generals Paskiewitch and Diebitch, but above all Count Murawiew, initiated periods of wholesale executions against the Polish patriots, such as the world had never known until then. Henceforth, all teaching in the schools of Poland was in Russian only.

In 1904, during Russia's unsuccessful war against Japan, however, when interior strife and revolutions threatened the very existence of the Empire, Russia again promised reform to Poland: Catholic religion should be taught in Polish in all

colleges; Poles should have the right to lease and acquire land in the western districts; they should be considered in connection with appointments, etc. But hardly had the treaty of Portsmouth been signed, when Russia could not further withstand the "Russia for the Russians" slogan, and began her fight against Polish language and culture again.

On the other hand Emperor Joseph II granted the Poles in Galicia agrarian reforms and generally tried to benefit his new subjects in every possible way. Under Emperor Leopold II and Emperor Francis a great many useful reforms were carried out. Galicia prospered, Russian Poland did not.

Since 1848 Galicia's administration was placed on a national basis. Serfdom ceased entirely, education in a national Polish sense was reformed, national Polish literature encouraged. Polish was declared as the official language of the administration and the school language. Poles were admitted not only to the positions of their local administrations which they had had anyway for a long time, but to important appointments of the Central Administration.

And thus now when the clock sounded its time they did not hesitate a single instant, but declared themselves for Austria-Hungary against Russia. They pin their hopes on Austria-Hungary, which kept all her promises in the past. Their king, Sobieski, had once saved Vienna and Austria from disasters, and they know that Austria-Hungary will always be grateful.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war, George Zulawski, the great Polish poet, addressed a warm appeal to all Poles. This is part of the appeal:

"Prince Joseph Poniatowski said during the battle of Leipzig, 1812: 'The honor of our Polish nation has been intrusted to me by God, I can yield it to God only.' One hundred years have elapsed since. Times have changed. France, which had formerly deceived and cheated the Poles, has now openly and shamelessly embraced Russia's cause. Our former adversaries are now our allies. Our fight continues. Poland's arch-enemy has not changed, nor has the honor of our nation.

"We stand to-day by Austria and do not doubt for a moment her good-will. Let the Grand Duke Nicholas juggle with promises never meant to be kept; we know how we are treated here. After having lost our liberty we have found in this monarchy, the most liberal in Europe, shelter and protection.

"We are full-fledged citizens, we enjoy here the liberty of autonomy and of our national advance. We like to consider past deeds, for they are the best securities of a future. A hundred years ago Polish volunteers donned the French tricolor, which was then a symbol of liberty. To-day the Polish volunteers carry the black and yellow Austrian colors. We carry them without offense to our national feelings, as they represent a symbol of a state which grants to its citizens

the largest amount of liberty and which together with Poland represents the gate against the barbarian floods from the East.

"We have the right and duty to fight for Austria and against the common enemy, and in the face of history's great tribunal it is Austria's duty to support us. Aside from all other considerations, Austria, by supporting us, supports herself, simultaneously carrying out her great historical mission: to be a haven of liberty to all the people suppressed by Russia.

"We have strong faith in our good cause, in the victory of liberty and culture and in the ultimate complete defeat of Russia. But whatever the fate on the battlefields may be, we will not change our attitude.

"Today, God has intrusted the honor of the Polish nation to us, Polish volunteers, and we will return it into the hands of God only.

"This is the honor of the nation which gave us a Zawisza and a Poniatowski. We will yield it unto the hands of God only, and we have strong faith that we will return it untarnished on the day when liberty will triumph over bondage, truth over falsehood, light over darkness. So help us, God!"

After the outbreak of war Polish volunteer legions were at once organized, until their number amounted to 200,000. Russia, seeing the danger from the Polish population arrayed against her,

gave out orders that no quarter should be given to a member of a Polish legion. If fallen into the hands of their troops he should be hanged forthwith. Thereupon, on October 1st, our Government sent a circular note to all neutral powers concerning the Polish legions. The qualification of these legions, so this note states, was clearly established. They comply with all requirements contained in the first part of the statutes governing rules of a land war. They are moreover an organized part of the Austro-Hungarian army. Their members have sworn the oath to the flag. Their subdivisions are commanded by officers of the Austro-Hungarian army and their general is under the orders of the Austro-Hungarian command. If Russia would maintain her attitude of not recognizing these Polish legions as regular soldiers, this would constitute a breach of the Hague rules.

RUTHENIANS AND THE WAR.

As regards the Ruthenians in Galicia and Bukowina, I will have occasion to mention them in another chapter. They have a proud history reaching back as far as the tenth century. One of their rulers, Prince Volodymir Monomach, was married to King Harold of England's daughter, and his daughter became Queen of France. Their principality, which had Kiew as capital, prospered during many centuries. In 1654 they signed the treaty of Perejaslaw with the northern Russian principalities of which Moscow was then the capital. The

so-called "Swod sakonow" secured full liberties to Ukrainia, as their land was called, in regard to administration matters, administration of justice, law, finances, foreign representation, army matters, etc. Very shortly thereafter, however, Russians revoked this treaty, conquering and oppressing their country. Under Iwan Mazeppa in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Charles XII of Sweden celebrated his triumphs, the Ukrainians made an effort to regain their independence. After the battle of Poltawa, however, they came under the Russian yoke, under which they have remained since then. Russia's policy to the Ukrainians has been one constant effort to denationalize them, until even their history was juggled away and their language declared to be nothing but a "small Russian dialect."

Ruthenians in Galicia on the other hand have been treated well by Austria, and to them the war represents the ray of future hope. They have given splendid account of themselves in the various fights. But above all their venerable Primate of the Greek Oriental Church in Czernowitz, the Right Reverend Vladimir Repta, has already become a historic figure through this war. When Russian soldiers, who had penetrated to Czernowitz, capital of Bukowina, were asked by their commanders to arrange a pogrom against the Jews, the Primate had the Jews take refuge in his palace. Questioned by the Russian governor why he did this, and what his confession was, he replied: it was the religion

of God. He was the servant of God, before whom everybody was equal and who meted out justice to everybody alike. After the alleged Russian victory of Augustovo he was asked to hold a high mass. He, however, declared that he had sworn an oath of allegiance and loyalty to the Emperor and King Francis Joseph and he would keep it. The high mass was not celebrated.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY DEFENDER OF CHRISTIANITY.

What has caused all the people of the monarchy to join hands in the supreme moments when war could be no more averted and what has kept them together with such firmness and enthusiasm since then? General predictions were freely given round in the foreign press of Europe, also in a considerable part of the press of the United States, that this war's first result would not be a lost battle, but Austria-Hungary's collapse. War came and the Monarchy has once again proven its traditional vitality, which was always strongest when a strong peril from without had to be resisted.

There are two chief reasons which account for this auspicious result. One is that the people of the monarchy have always considered themselves as the defenders of Christianity against the onslaught of the Orient. So was Hungary at the time of King Béla IV the bulwark of Christendom against the wild hordes of the Tartars and Mongolians. Hungary's fertile grounds were devastated, thousands of its people were massacred, but

Hungary lived and the west of Europe was saved from the Tartar invasion.

Then came the centuries of Turkish invasions, the glorious victories of John Hunyadi and his son, King Mathias Corvinus, over the Turkish hosts. But the battle of Mohács in 1526 brought disaster to the Hungarian army, and Hungary became a tributary of the Ottoman Porte for many years to come.

In 1682 Jan Sobieski and Charles of Lorraine saved Vienna and Europe from the strongest attack Turkey ever had launched against it. Prince Eugen of Savoy, the victor of Zenta and of many other battles, was the last great general in our list of Defenders of Christian Faith.

The war of 1914 has revived Austria-Hungary's old mission. Austria-Hungary has to fight Russia.

Perhaps my American readers will question why I have placed Russia in the ranks of our former enemies from Asia.

In 1909, when I came back from Peking across Siberia, my travelling companion was the then First Secretary of the Russian Legation, Monsieur d'Arsenieff. As his present enemy I will say that he was a delightful companion. The Siberian trip lasted two weeks, and as we shared one compartment in the Russian State Express during this long time we had frequent discussions on various subjects together. Having known him for some time in Peking, I asked him one day how long he would spend his vacation in Europe. "I will not spend it

there at all. I will stay in Russia," answered he. This answer surprised me and I asked him why he excluded Russia from Europe. "Russia is not Europe. Russia whether in Asia or Europe is simply Russia."

This answer demonstrates the typical Russian view. Russia has millions of Buddhists and Lamaists among its subjects in Asia. Its religion is nominally the Russian Orthodox Church, but in reality it is Czarism. The Holy Synod sent out its "apostles" to our Ruthenians in Galicia, Bukowina and parts of Hungary to win them over to the Russian Church. These apostles were gradually transformed into political emissaries of the Czar. The Russian Orthodox Church and the Holy Synod are merely the mouthpiece of Czarism and the Czar. Russia says: We fight for the liberation and union of all Slavs. What she really means is: Czarism wants to eternify its own rule over all countries which still have Slav subjects among their other subjects.

In Austria-Hungary there may be no uniform national idea prevalent, but the common past, common history, common interests have welded all its people together into a union which assures an equal measure of happiness to everybody, and will successfully repel all external attacks against its existence. The Slavs who live under the monarchy's rule enjoy a much greater amount of rights, personal and public, than in Russia. Austria-Hungary is a modern empire, where everybody can

freely develop his innate talents. In Russia almost all individual development is suppressed. Against the invasion of Czarism Austria-Hungary fights therefore today as she did against the invasion of Tartars, Mongols and Turks centuries ago, when the foundations of her Christian Empire were threatened. The defense of Christian civilization has still continued to be her great historic mission.

The people today pray as Jan Sobieski did when he waged his great battle against the Turks: "Non nobis, non nobis, Domine exercituum sed nomini tuo da gloriam."

FRANCIS JOSEPH AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

There is another reason, and this is, I might say, Austria-Hungary's personal reason in contraposition to the former, which was her historic reason. This second reason is expressed in the manifesto of our venerable Emperor and King. In former centuries the call to arms in some countries, especially in Hungary, was the sending around of a bloody sword. That would have met with little response in our days.

This is part of his manifesto which was addressed to the people of Austria-Hungary:

> "It was my sincerest wish to devote to the work of peace the years which the Grace of God had granted me to preserve my peoples from the heavy burdens and sacrifices of war.
>
> "Divine providence decreed otherwise.

"The activities of an opponent led by hatred compel me to reach for the sword after long years of peace in order to maintain the honor of my monarchy, to preserve her prestige and reputation and to safeguard her possessions."

And after enumerating the iniquities done by Servia it continues:

"And so I am compelled to create with the power of arms the necessary guarantees to safeguard the interior tranquillity and the lasting exterior peace for my countries.

"In these serious hours I am fully conscious of the full extent of my decision and of my responsibility before the Almighty. I have examined and weighed everything.

"With a quiet conscience, I take the road that duty shows me. I trust in my peoples that ranged themselves at all tempestuous times in unity and loyalty around my throne and were always ready to make the biggest sacrifice for the honor, grandeur and might of the fatherland.

"I trust in the valiant armed force of Austria-Hungary inspired by loyal enthusiasm.

"And I trust in the Almighty that he may give victory to my arms."

Forty-eight years have come and gone by in the wake of peace for our country. But these forty-eight years and many more before them have been

no years of personal peace to the venerable ruler of our monarchy. No personal grief, no known human suffering has been spared to him. And yet they have not borne him down, nor have they been able to shake his sense of duty. In the supreme moments of trial, he stood up, always ready at the helm, leading his people with the undaunted spirit of a seer. He believed in them and the future of Austria-Hungary. And the people of Austria-Hungary believe in him, because his words spell faith.

In the history of mankind there is probably but one proclamation which equals the former in simplicity, directness and sincereness of language. This is President Abraham Lincoln's exhortation to the people not to plunge into civil war. This is part of his exhortation:

"Fellow-citizens: The momentous case is before you. On your undivided support of your Government depends the decision of the great question it involves, whether your sacred Union will be preserved, and the blessings it secured to us as one people shall be perpetuated. No one can doubt that the unanimity with which that decision will be expressed will be such as to inspire new confidence in republican institutions, and that the prudence, the wisdom, and the courage which it will bring to their defense will transmit them unimpaired and invigorated to our children. May the Great Ruler of Nations grant that the signal blessings with which He has favored us

may not by the madness of party, or personal ambition, be disregarded and lost, and may His wise providence bring those who have produced this crisis to see the folly before they feel the misery of civil strife, and inspire a returning veneration for that Union which, if we may dare to penetrate His designs, He has chosen as the only means of attaining the highest destinies to which we may reasonably aspire."

In both instances momentous events had prompted the issuance of these proclamations. In both instances the people had supreme confidence and faith in their respective leaders. *Men who can inspire such sublime confidence in the hearts of their people that their words become the gospel of faith are the truly great men of world's history.*

II.—WAS THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN NOTE* TO SERVIA BRUTAL?

"Liberty" is the title of a statement of the British case sent out a few weeks ago by Arnold Bennett to the *Saturday Evening Post.* Liberty! The title seems appropriate for that reason only that in no statement on the war is there more liberty displayed in the use of superlative invectives against a whole people and nation than in this one. All the white-heat venom that an intelligent human being can absorb in the course of a lifetime is injected into this article. One might say the author saved it up since the first days of his childhood and diffused it all at once in one supreme effort. It is regrettable that an author of the world reputation of Mr. Bennett should think that the abuse of a whole nation constitutes his own country's strongest defense.

Mr. Bennett, after pronouncing the dictum that "the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1908 was an outrage upon the feelings of the inhabitants," proceeds to explain "how the German and Austrian branches of the military worked in secret together. How when they had reached a decision"—and not before, according to Mr. Bennett's special information—"the German

* The note and answer thereto are reprinted in the appendix.

Imperial Chancellor and the German Foreign Secretary were permitted to learn the inwardness of the state of affairs," whatever that is. "And then," he continues, "an impossible ultimatum was sent to Servia, and the thing was done. The fall on the bourses, before the delivery of the Servian reply, showed that the supreme financial magnates had been 'put wise.' Every embassy knew. All diplomacy was futile and most of it was odiously hypocritical. Sir Edward Grey alone in Europe strove against the irrevocable. With the most correct urbanity Germany frustrated him at each move. Neither France nor Italy desired aught but peace. Whether or not Russia desired war I cannot say" (evidently Mr. Bennett's private, confidential informants had failed in this instance); "but it is absolutely certain that Germany and Austria desired war."

Austria-Hungary's ultimatum to Servia has been called by various authors "brutal," "inhuman," "unspeakable," "the act of a dotard," etc. In the September 30th issue of the *Outlook* we find the following expressive comments: "The demand of Austria was both in form and in tone such as one independent power could not be expected to receive from another independent power without resentment." It might be said here that the first impression counts, and the first impression of this Austro-Hungarian note filtered through the published correspondence of the English White Paper. Sir Edward Grey, in his letter to the British Ambassador at Berlin, said of it: "I have never before seen

one state address to another independent state a document of so formidable a character."

The public in general has long been accustomed to form its opinion regarding diplomatic or political questions through the opinions expressed thereon by the diplomatic and political leaders of approved calling and authority. This is a sound enough custom and cannot be objected to. In presenting this little study to the American public I do not propose to except to this well established habit of mind of larger masses. Nor do I wish to cast any doubt on Sir Edward's authority to comment on the nature of this ultimatum. I will endeavor, however, to demonstrate that the Austro-Hungarian note will appear very much less brutal both in tone and in substance if we investigate conditions which prompted it.

In a general sense the critics of this war have allowed their minds to sway too easily under the influence of outward appearances and maudlin sentiment. Let us penetrate under the surface of things, let us examine and weigh some of the evidence which the recent Sarajevo trial has brought to light! Let us consider the psychological side of the relations between Austria-Hungary and Servia during the years preceding this note! A little light and a little more thoroughness than we have noticed heretofore in comments on this and other phases of the war will go far towards dispelling false impressions. If faults were committed, they should be exposed, but on the other hand, if blame was attached

unjustly, it should be lifted and justice done where justice is due.

Of all the war comments made in the United States none has shown a more neutral spirit and at the same time been more accurate in its conclusions than United States Circuit Court Judge Grosscup's appeal to fair judgment. I say so not because his views coincide with mine, or because he favors my country's side, but because it is, I believe, a typically American statement and will, this I also believe, appeal to every fair-minded American reader.

JUDGE PETER GROSSCUP'S VIEWS.

I will cite here his remarks bearing on the question of this chapter in extenso, because what we all aim at is truth and justice, and nobody has grasped these two tenets in connection with the war better than he did. This is what he says:

"The other day I saw a group of men in a lane some distance from the road, who seemed to be in earnest conversation. Suddenly one of the men struck one of the others. Immediately I felt that he was the aggressor, that he wished a fight. But the facts, had I been near enough to see and hear, might have been different. That first blow as I saw it may have been in self-defense; I was not near enough to the other's clenched fist. It may have been deserved; I was not near enough to hear the provocation. What is the only thing visible to one at a distance may not have been the fact at all as seen by those upon the spot."

"Though the White Paper covers five pages of the American newspaper in which I found it, the essential facts pertinent to this larger question are few and can be compactly stated. The first of these, trite enough but never to be lost sight of, is that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy contains a very large Slav population—the race of the Servians also —some of it added in recent years. This constituted, to say the least, a highly inflammable anti-Austrian material to any one disposed to start a fire within the Austro-Hungarian boundaries. Another fact, not so trite but equally important, is that Servia has been systematically distributing firebrands throughout this inflammable matter. "It was a subversive movement," says the Austrian foreign Minister in one of the dispatches constituting the White Paper, intended to detach from Austria a part of her empire, carried on by organized societies in Servia, to which Servian high officials, including ministers, generals and judges, belonged, and resulting in the assassination of the heir to the throne and his wife," not as the individual mad deed of a Guiteau or a Czolgosz, we might add, but as "an organized propaganda and conspiracy" that developed itself in several attempts, at several unconnected points, by several persons, on the same day; a statement of the Servian attitude nowhere denied in this English White Paper, either in the London Foreign Office or the embassies at Paris or St. Petersburg. On the contrary, Sir Edward Grey says he cannot help but look with sympathy on the basis

of the Austro-Hungarian complaint. And Servia herself practically admits the truth of it, in her reply to the Austrian ultimatum; for though she calls whatever agitation took place "political," that is to say, something whose object is the change of government and not private murder, she offers to dissolve the Narodna Odbrana, a revolutionary society, and every society which may be "directing its efforts against Austria-Hungary"; to introduce a law providing for the most severe punishment of "publications calculated to incite hatred against the territorial integrity of Austria"; to remove from the "public educational establishments" in Servia everything calculated to foment propaganda against Austria; to publish in the official gazette and read to the army this promised new attitude of Servia to Austria; and to remove from military service all such persons as judicial inquiry may have proved to be guilty of acts directed against the integrity of the territory of Austria-Hungary—promises no people would make unless there was a basis of fact for the complaint.

But though Servia thus acknowledged the basis of the complaint, and promised to take measures to remedy it, she refused the "collaboration" of Austrian representatives, or the participation of Austrian "delegates," in the investigation relating thereto. She made no straight-out denial of the subversive movements alleged. The most that can be made of her answer is that she neither admits nor denies, but simply calls for the proofs. But she

refused the presence of Austria at the taking of the proofs. In a word, as Austria viewed it, should the promised investigation be a whitewash, or should it be a sincere effort to locate responsibility? Austria wanted a sincere investigation; the attitude of Servia looks as if she wanted a whitewash. And it was on that that the two countries broke.

Now, was Austria-Hungary right in making the demand and Servia wrong in refusing the demand, that Austrian delegates sit in at the investigation? This is the crux of the matter as a question between Austria and Servia. The conduct of nations, like that of individuals, must stand the test of common sense, and, like individuals, nations have the right to have their word taken in matters of this kind until their word is no longer good, by being repeatedly broken; so that had this been the first complaint by Austria against Servia on this matter, and this Servia's first promise to live hereafter on friendly relations, there would have been no justification for Austria's demand, or for her refusal to take Servia's word that a fair investigation would be made and the guilty punished. But this White Paper shows that this was not Servia's first promise; that she had made former promises; that this new offer of her word was the offer of an already broken word. This is the third fact in the inquiry, the turning fact in the question of who was wrong and who was right; a fact entirely ignored in the views pressed upon Amerian public opinion. Five years before, March 18, 1909, Servia gave her

word, not to Austria alone, but to the Great Powers, that this scattering of firebrands should cease, that thereafter she would live as a friendly neighbor. That shows that five years before the offense was already in existence. Did it cease? Was the word kept? In the note communicated to Sir Edward Grey by the German Ambassador July 24th, 1914—a note that called out from Sir Edward, not a denial, but an expression of sympathy—the German Ambassador, referring to that earlier promise, says: "It was only owing to the far-reaching self-restraint and moderation of the Austro-Hungarian government, and to the energetic interference of the Great Powers, that the Servian provocation to which Austria-Hungary was then (March, 1909) exposed did not lead to a conflict. The assurance of good conduct in the future which was then given by the Servian government has not been kept. Under the eyes, at least with the tacit permission of official Servia, the great Servian propaganda has continuously increased in extension and intensity; to its account must be set the recent crime the threads of which lead to Belgrade"; an indictment that none of the Powers so much as question—neither the foreign offices nor embassies of Russia, England or France—and to which Servia practically pleads guilty in her answer to the Austrian ultimatum already stated.

Now, in view of that, what was Austria-Hungary to do? Accept the word of Servia again? We must look at it not from the standpoint of those who think

the Austro-Hungarian government ought to be destroyed, but from the standpoint of Austria-Hungary itself. What would we of America do if, despite a solemn promise to desist, some neighboring nation continued to stir up racial revolution among our people—say Spain among the Porto Ricans or Philippines? Would we accept that nation's word again? It is a just and generous nature that accepts the offender's word on the first offense, but a foolish or craven nature that continues to accept it through repetitions of the offense. Let us not lose sight of the practical side of the problem as presented to Austria. The spirit behind these attacks on Austria-Hungary was not the spirit of the Servian government only, but the spirit of the Servian people also. A government may be reached sometimes by protest. But there are cases in which a people can only be reached by some tangible military demonstration. History is replete with demonstrations of that kind; so that the problem of Austria, now that the government's word could no longer be taken, was to impress the people of Servia with Austria-Hungary's purpose not to be silent longer under these flying firebrands. We went to war with Spain for less than Austria was suffering at the hands of Servia. England declared war on the republic of Paul Kruger for less. And in each case the war closed with territory detached from the vanquished and taken by the victor. Were we wrong? More than that: Did any great outside Power even say nay? On the contrary we were left

to deal with the problems as we thought right. Why, then, should any outside Power say nay to Austria, especially if no territory was to be taken? Morally right in her demand on Servia, to sit in at the investigation, why was not Austria left alone to enforce that right, as England, the United States, and Italy had been left to enforce their rights?"

THE MURDER OF PRINCE MICHAEL OBRENOVIC.

Judge Grosscup states the issue underlying the Austro-Hungarian note clearly, and his statement requires hardly any further amplification. There is, however, one item which can be amplified. Servia was asked to admit Austro-Hungarian government officers to the preliminary investigations of the murder plot in Sarajevo which claimed the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince and his consort as victims. Whenever this question has formed the subject of discussion in newspapers or other statements, we have always read utterances such as the following, for instance: "Had Servia yielded to this demand she would have forfeited her rights as an independent state. No self-respecting state could have tolerated an interference of so humiliating a nature."

To a superficial observer, as I said before, the conclusion reached in these utterances seemed correct and sufficient. In reality, however, this conclusion misses the point entirely. Austria-Hungary's demand involved a friendly coöperation of

Austro-Hungarian and Servian government officers and was based on historical precedents. On June 10th, 1868, Prince Michael Obrenovic of Servia was murdered near the Royal Park of Topsider in Belgrade. In the course of the investigation of this murder plot Servia asked the government of Hungary that some of her government officers should be allowed to participate in the investigation which was conducted in Hungary, as the murder was traced to Servians residing mostly in Southern Hungary. This demand was practically identical with the Austro-Hungarian demand in the present crisis. Hungary readily acceded to this demand, finding it a most natural demand to make under the given circumstances. Hungary desired to show her friendly feelings to the neighboring country, and no attempt was even made to construe this as an encroachment of Hungary's suzerainty or independence.

Hungary in 1868-1870 had nothing to conceal, and was, therefore, keen to lend a hand in tracing the murderers; Servia in 1914 is apparently in a different position. Should an unbiased examination substantiate the claim that the Servian Government and the Crown Prince of Servia were directly behind this murder plot, it would naturally destroy the prestige of Servia forever. The Sarajevo trial, as I have shown in another chapter, has substantiated Austria-Hungary's charges contained in her note. Whatever the conclusions from this trial evidence may be, with regard to Servia's prestige,

Servia can no more disclaim responsibility, of that we feel confident.

In 1868-1870 after the actual murderers of Prince Michael Obrenovic had expiated their crime, strong evidence was presented against Prince Alexander Karagyorgyevic, a close kin of the present King of Servia, connecting him directly with the murder. Servia herself asked the Hungarian Government to carry out the death sentence against the last named Prince. Hungary, desiring to be chivalrous to both the Prince, who had formerly taken refuge in Hungary and who had appealed for her help, and to Servia, spared the Prince's life. She instituted, however, a court examination with Servian coöperation to find out whether according to Hungarian law he had committed a crime for which he should suffer punishment. As a result of this examination it was found that Prince Alexander Karagyorgyevic, his secretary, Paul Trifkovic, and Filip Stankovic, a merchant, were guilty of the crimes charged against them. Mr. Sztrókay, the District-Attorney of Budapest, asked that the Prince should be sentenced to death, Stankovic to twenty, Trifkovic to fifteen years' hard labor. This is what the indictment of the defendants said: Paul Radovanovic, one of the chief plotters, who was the attorney of Prince Karagyorgyevic and had full authority to handle his affairs in Servia, confessed that he had agreed with the Prince in 1867 that Prince Michael of Servia should be murdered if necessary and he, Prince Alexander, should be-

come his successor. To this purpose Radovanovic was paid some large amounts by Vilotievic, who was the manager of the Prince's estate in Servia. The indictment admits that Radovanovic later on withdrew his confession damaging to the Prince; this withdrawal, however, was not made bona fide. Radovanovic had written a letter to Trifkovic in which he promised to withdraw that part of his confession which was damaging to the Prince, if in return the latter would pay 30,000 florins to his family. Radovanovic identified this letter in an open court hearing as his own. Furthermore, Vilotievic, the above-named manager of the Prince's estate, confessed that the Prince and Trifkovic had told him in 1867 in Budapest that they were preparing a plot against Prince Michael. He was told that if he cared for his position he would have to help them and pay Radovanovic whenever called upon by this latter. Later on Vilotievic received 27,000 florins from Trifkovic, the Prince's secretary. Prince Alexander personally and verbally instructed him to pay said amount to Radovanovic after the murder of Prince Michael. Prince Alexander, in his capacity as defendant in this murder case, declared in court that he had only money enough to support himself and his family in a decent way befitting his rank. It was shown, however, by ample evidence that the Prince had received large amounts from Russia and Roumania prior to the murder, and had, moreover, sold his house in Budapest for 100,000 florins.

The indictment also shows that one Stanko Zdrafkovic, the lessee of a restaurant owned by Prince Alexander in Belgrade, had confessed that the Prince had reduced his rent by 150 gold ducats, provided he would rent a room to one Filip Stankovic, and would not see or hear what happened there. Paul Trifkovic, the secretary of the Prince, was the second defendant. He is shown in the indictment to have been in correspondence with Radovanovic since the year 1860. They met whenever this latter came to Budapest. Their correspondence was effected in ciphers, as was the correspondence of all defendants. In 1868 they met in Temesvár, where Radovanovic one day handed Trifkovic a plan of an amended constitution, asking him to have it signed by the Prince if this latter ever expected to ascend the throne of Servia. Trifkovic confessed that upon instructions from Radovanovic he had three six-cylinder revolvers and three daggers with sharpened points on both ends manufactured in Budapest. These were given to Radovanovic, and both this latter and Lazar Marsic confessed that the murder had been committed with these weapons.

Filip Stankovic was the third defendant. According to the testimony of Anthony Maistorovic and Döme Kuzmanovic he had received 2,000 ducats from the wife of Prince Alexander, Princess Persida, to stir up a revolution in Servia. At another occasion he had received 100 ducats from Prince Alexander himself for the same purpose. Stankovic and Maistorovic had moreover arranged that Prince

Alexander should keep 20,000 gold ducats on deposit with a banker called Spirka to provide for the expenses of a revolution in Servia.

Prince Alexander Karagyorgyevic, who was a very close blood relative of the present King of Servia, was sentenced to death, but judgment was later on quashed.

I then come back to what Judge Grosscup says: "It is a just and generous nature that accepts the offender's word on the first offense, but a foolish or craven nature that continues to accept it through repetitions of the offense." In contra-position to this I refer to another writer's statement, which is also reproduced in this book: "The world does not believe that the boy, Prinzip, was the agent of the Servian Government. No government would be so blind as to inspire a deed which must so redound to its disadvantage and its discredit." The latter writer erred in his conclusions because he was superficial. But many have erred just as he has, simply because they did not have the proper premises to draw conclusions from. Austria-Hungary's conclusions were based on the proper premises which she had set up in her experience in the past. Servia had broken her word on March 18, 1909, when she pledged it to us and to the Great European powers that she would henceforth be a good neighbor to the monarchy. From the very next day after she had made this pledge she set out to break it openly and less openly just as it suited her plans. The Great Powers having frowned on her

ambitions she strove resolutely to attain her ends, by hook or crook. We have the court evidence of the Sarajevo trial to corroborate these statements. The building up of the Narodna Odbrana and of a whole chain of affiliated societies to advocate a revolutionary propaganda against Austria-Hungary could not even by her warmest sympathizer be interpreted as the acts of a good neighbor. But this was not all. As we can gather from the trial evidence, she has done everything to vilify Austria-Hungary's character in the foreign press, to create the impression that while she had broken her pledges she had ample justification for doing so. Has not Servia broken faith with the powers before 1909? It is a matter of common knowledge and substantiated by incontrovertible facts that although the reigning dynasty of Karagyorgyevic and King Peter had pledged to punish the late King Alexander's murderers, many of these murderers' confederates have occupied important public positions with the Servian Government up to the last. Everybody knows that Great Britain has for a long time entertained no diplomatic relations with Servia for reasons which seemed obvious then, but have drifted into oblivion now. Why? Because Servia entertains a highly efficient press bureau in the United States and other countries, and people are so quick to forget things, if they happen to be either too much or too little interested in matters or persons.

The psychology of a country's population is governed by the same causes as is governed the psy-

chology of an individual. If an individual has some knowledge of things, this is increased and steadied by a life's experience. If he has none of his own making, life's experience will supply him with a good substitute. And so it is with the people of a country. Whether of primitive or high culture, knowledge and civilization, their country's traditions and past experience will help to increase and steady whatever they may have attained of their own. What are the traditions of Servia's people? Servians are temperamentally light-hearted, joyous and frivolous, not devoid of a great many artistic features. Yet, is there any country in the world which can equal, for instance, the long list of rulers assassinated on or around their country's throne?

CHRONOLOGY OF SERVIAN REGICIDES.

Almost from the earliest beginnings of a Servian country, Servian kings and princes have very seldom died a natural death.

1. In 902 of the Christian era Prince Klonimir, a descendant of the first Servian prince, Knaz Vlasztimir, was murdered by the orders of his rival, Prince Peter.

2. In 917 this same Prince Peter was murdered by his subjects.

3. Prince John Vladimir, the great grandson of Knaz Vlasztimir, was murdered by his subjects on May 22, 1015.

4. His successor, Prince Stefan Vojszló, died under suspicious circumstances.

The next dynasty was that of the Nemanyidas. Their princes died either on the battlefields or were killed by their subjects.

5. Prince Stefan Uros was murdered by the orders of his son, Dragutin, in Durazzo, 1272.

6. Prince Stefan Uros III was murdered by Servian noblemen in the castle of Jovecan, September, 1331.

Dragutin later on assumed the name of Dusan, and was the greatest sovereign Servia ever has had. Curiously enough, he died a natural death.

7. His son, Prince Stefan Uros, was assassinated by his subjects in 1367. This ended the dynasty of the Nemanyidas, as his mother, after his murder, retired to a convent. His murderer, a Servian noble by the name of Vukasin, had been raised to rank and honors by Czar Dusan, the father of the last named prince, and it was in murdering the latter's son that he paid off his debt of gratitude. However, he could not avoid his fate. Sultan Bajazid suddenly attacked him and his army of 60,000 men.

8. Prince Vukasin fled but was attacked and murdered by his own troops, who wanted to get hold of his large golden chain. His corpse was buried without the head.

9. Vukasin's son, Prince Marko the Superb, was murdered, for a change, not by his own subjects, but by a "vallach" man.

His successor was his uncle

10. Prince John Ugljesa, who was killed by

Lazar, the natural son of Czar Dusan. Lazar's son-in-law, Prince Milos, killed

11. Sultan Murad I, whereupon Prince Lazar was decapitated by the Turks. His successor, Prince George Brankovic, died a natural death, but his consort,

12. Princess Irene, was poisoned by her youngest son,

13. Lazar. This latter then ascended the throne, but soon died under suspicious circumstances.

The dynasty of the Brankovic died out in 1516 with Prince George Brankovic. Thereafter Servia came under Turkish yoke and there were no kings or princes to be murdered for quite a while.

14. In modern times Prince Michael Obrenovic was murdered in 1868, upon the instigation of Prince Alexander Karagyorgyevic, a very close kin of the present King Peter.

15. King Alexander of Servia and

16. Queen Draga were killed in 1903.

Do such traditions leave no trace on the psychology of a people's mind? The stories told to their children in the nurse's room, repeated and amplified in the schools which their boys frequented, revelled and gloried in the bloody exploits of the glorious past. Is it to be wondered that when their boys grew up, the taste of blood seemed not strange to them? They had by this time grown accustomed to the assassinations of their own princes, their own leaders in public life. They could not understand why Austria-Hungary should have objected

to their killing or attempting to kill Austro-Hungarian governors, generals or archdukes. If these assassinations were necessary to attain their ends —which was, let us say, the union of all southern Slavs in a greater Servian empire or republic— then the only thing that could be objected to was that some of these murderous attempts proved unsuccessful. Failure delayed the realization of these ends.

COULD THE SERVIAN QUESTION HAVE BEEN ARBITRATED?

I have often heard, in these past months, questions why Austria-Hungary did not submit her difference with Servia to international arbitration. Servia had made an offer of this kind, but Austria-Hungary, so it is charged, had brutally rejected the offer. If any one will carefully examine the text of the arbitration treaties which the United States and any other States have signed with one another, he will invariably find a clause therein that all questions can be submitted to the International Arbitration Court, except questions involving vital interests, independence and national honor of a country. History has so far shown no exception to this. The Alabama question, which Great Britain likes to point out in this connection, has involved no question of national honor on her side. That was a clear case of breach of neutrality and the only question to be decided therewith was really a question of dollars and cents.

The case of the "Alabama" in 1862, which operated so successfully against the commercial navy of the Northern States, is too well known and requires no amplification beyond the fact that the Arbitration Court of Geneva 14 September, 1872, sentenced Great Britain for her breach of neutrality to a payment of 15,000,000 dollars, to be paid to the United States. The same is true with reference to the "Florida" and "Shenandoah." These steamers chose for their field of action the stretch of sea between the Bahama Archipelago and Bermuda and Melbourne, respectively, for the purpose which was immediately carried out of going to the Arctic seas to attack American whaling vessels. The granting of coal supplies by Great Britain in quantities sufficient for such purposes constituted a flagrant breach of neutrality on the part of England.

In the case of Austria-Hungary and Servia, the former country's national honor was involved. She could not barter her honor away for dollars and cents, nor could she submit her claims to the judgment of any International Arbitration Court. The futility of such a proposition will become instantly apparent to any open-minded American, if he will consider the following issues:

Let us assume for a moment that in the immediate neighborhood of the United States, for instance in Mexico, although I wish, of course, to cast no slur on Mexico, past experiences notwithstanding, the people had for many centuries in their history adopt-

ed the habit of murdering all their presidents. Let us then assume—merely for an academic argument's sake—that the people of Mexico would for many years have adopted a policy of pronounced hostility to the people of the United States. They would for instance have organized open or secret revolutionary committees in Mexico and in border States, in Texas, California. These committees would have carried on a general propaganda advocating the disruption of the Government of the United States here and abroad! Would in fact tell the whole world in the foreign press that Americans were bullying the people of little Mexico into a state of abject slavery and submission! Let us suppose that their propaganda had lasted for a great many years, that the Government of the United States had complained to the other great powers and these had used diplomatic pressure on Mexico to stop her anti-American intrigues. Mexico would then have pledged herself to be good in future, but would have instantly resumed her activities with more vehemence than before. Let us assume, for argument's sake, that as a sequel of these activities the Governors of Texas or California had been murdered by Mexicans with the support of their government. Let us suppose then that after some further pleasant neighborly acts of this kind, the revolutionary committee in Mexico, backed by the Mexican Government, had carried out a murderous plot against the President of the United States and had in fact assassinated him . . . . Let us assume all

these things and let me then ask the questions: Is there any American who can honestly answer me that the United States Government would not have sent a note to Mexico—exactly as brutal, if our note was brutal—as we did to Servia? Is there any American who would not call Mexico's answer insufficient, if the latter in her answer had said that she had no knowledge of any outrages committed against the United States? And is there any American who would say that this difference between the United States and Mexico should be arbitrated by the International Court of the Hague?

This is in substance Austria-Hungary's case against Servia and this is why the author does not believe that the Austro-Hungarian note to Servia was brutal.

III.—THE SARAJEVO TRIAL.

When these lines are written the trial which deserves to rank with the most famous trials of the world is over. In a certain sense it was the most famous, undoubtedly the most unique trial in world's history. The case which was decided here plunged the people of practically the whole civilized world into a terrible war. It caused the people of nearly all the large countries of Europe to meet each other as enemies on blood-stained battlefields.

Who knows how large the number of victims will be? Who knows what changes this war will bring to the map of Europe? Who knows what the final price will be which the various countries will have to pay?

The Court at Sarajevo had to hand down a verdict in the case of the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand d'Este, the presumptive heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary and his august consort, the Princess of Hohenberg. Little did the actual murderers and their immediate confederates realize that the bullets which struck down these two exalted victims would cast practically the whole civilized world into the present deep gloom. This murder was, of course, merely the occasion which precipitated war, not the cause originating it. If, however, we view things with sufficient calmness,

we can say that possibly the real causes of the war could have remained in the background as they had been for many years in the past, had this unexpected event not brought them all to the surface. To render full justice to the psychological aspects of this phase of the question one would have to know whether the actual murderers foresaw the terrible consequences of their deed when they committed it. At least one of the murderers, Nedjelko Cabrinovic, the bomb-thrower, who injured thirteen bystanders, but did not kill the Crown Prince, made an admission to the contrary. He confessed that had he known that millions and millions would have to suffer and millions of mothers would have to cry, he would have blown up himself with all six bombs. But the evidence brought out at the trial clearly shows that Cabrinovic and Prinzip, his ally in crime, and the other immediate confederates had merely been the tools of higher-ups in Servia, and it is hard to believe that these "higher-ups" should not have foreseen the consequences. All would rather tend to indicate that they had not only foreseen these consequences but, indeed, hoped to make them come true.

When the first news was cabled over to us on the eventful day of the Crown Prince's murder, I was asked by the reporters to express an opinion as to who and what had caused the murder. I hesitated not a moment and branded the murder as the deed of an anarchist. I could not imagine any other possibility. Later, when some papers came out with

the statement that the murder must have been the outcome of a national Servian plot, I was not inclined to share their opinion. It is hard to believe that the mind of a whole country should have run amuck, yet, the above statement pre-supposed that. Now, after having been home and seen and heard and read everything in conection with this murder, I know that I was wrong in the beginning and these papers right. *Official Servia was behind the dastardly murder plot.* Strange as it may seem, a majority of the papers now are rather inclined to accept my first version, absolving Servia. Yet, at the beginning there was no evidence available, now there is. The human nature of editors is very often inscrutable.

The purpose of this study is to shed light on the proceedings of this trial which began on October 12th and ended October 28th. In all 22 defendants were tried under a charge of high-treason, and three defendants under a charge of complicity and for concealing the weapons intended for the use of the plotters against the life of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and the Princess Hohenberg. In ordinary times a jury would sit in a trial of such character, that is for high-treason or for murder. Both crimes are comprised in the list of the 25 crimes and misdemeanors of the introductory Article VI of the Austrian Law of Criminal procedure, for which jury trials are prescribed by law. In times of war, however, jury trials are naturally suspended. The general mobilization of the army

calls for the service of jurymen and everybody alike. This of course provided a member serving on a jury would come under the provisions of the mobilization order at all. The provisions for the first line of the army, landwehr and landstrum, include male persons up to their 42nd year of age only. The suspension of jury trials in times of war—as prescribed in our criminal law procedure, both in Austria and Hungary, is due to considerations of expediency rather than to any other reason. This does not, however, interfere with the publicity of the trials. I make specific mention of this, because prominent American papers, as shown later, seem to be under the wrong impression that on account of the war, administration of justice in Austria-Hungary must be lagging behind and impaired. Our criminal law procedure in force in times of war explicitly provides that every grownup and unarmed person is admitted to the main hearing of a trial, the last restriction being not extended to persons who carry arms because of their office. Defendants are allowed fullest liberty at the hearing in bringing out every evidence to strengthen their case. If they have no attorneys of their own selection, the court appoints attorneys for the defense *ex-officio,* as is done in this country under similar circumstances. Judgment of the Court must be based solely on evidence presented openly at the hearing of the trial. The preliminary examination of a criminal case is done by a special judge in conjunction with the prosecuting attorney. This

special judge cannot be a member of the Court or Senate before which the case is heard at the main trial. The defendant has to be taken before this special judge within 24 hours after his arrest and has to be told why he is arrested. The Court or Senate before which a criminal case is tried has to consist of three judges (two judges and a presiding judge). In a trial against more defendants than one or two, there are in addition two assistant judges for substitution purposes.

In the Sarajevo trial the Court consisted of Circuit Court Judge Dr. Curinaldi as Presiding Judge and the Common Pleas Court Judges Dr. Naumovics and Dr. Hoffman as assessors. The two supplementary Judges were Common Pleas Court Judges Dr. Fialka and Dr. Pitha. The State was represented by Prosecuting Attorney Svara and Assistant Prosecuting Attorney Dr. Stark. The following attorneys were acting for the defense: Dr. Premuzics, Dr. Zistler, Dr. Feldbauer, Dr. Perisics, Judge Strupl and Assistant Judge Malek.

In addition to the 25 defendants there were about 50 or 75 witnesses heard after having been sworn in.

PROSECUTING ATTORNEY'S OPENING ADDRESS.

I will now first recount the main points of the prosecuting attorney's opening address, which contains the case of the state. The state commented extensively on the whole origin of the conspiracy. This is stated to have been hatched in Belgrade,

capital of Servia, by the members of the "Narodna Odbrana." The two real purposes of this Servian society were to use every possible open and secret means to cause a disruption of the neighboring monarchy. It advocated the disintegration of certain provinces from the main body, namely Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia and Slavonia, and some southern counties of Hungary. The society also entertained an active propaganda for war against Austria-Hungary. General Bozo Jankovic was the president of this society. The members of the Narodna Odbrana and other political circles in Belgrade and Servia were of opinion—so it was charged—that the late Archduke Francis Ferdinand would, because of his strong individuality, be a strong obstacle to the union of all these provinces and all the Southern Slavs under Servian sceptre. They decreed, therefore, that the Archduke must die. Gavrilo Princip, Nedjelko Cabrinovic and Trifco Grabez were selected by the Narodna Odbrana to carry out the death warrant against the Archduke during the latter's stay in Sarajevo. For this purpose they were put under the orders of Major Voislar Tankosic, Major Pribicevic and Mr. Ciganovic, an officer of the Servian State Railways. All three were members of the Narodna Odbrana. They supplied bombs and Browning pistols, from the Royal Servian arsenal at Kragujevac. Moreover Ciganovic instructed the three named defendants in the use of Browning pistols. training them on an open ground near Topsider,

Belgrade. Finally, they supplied the three *defendants with a sufficient dose of cyanide potassium* in order that they should commit suicide after the performance of their deed, whereby their relations with the Servian officials would never become known. With the aid of the Narodna Odbrana all weapons were smuggled from Belgrade across the Servian frontier and farther to Sarajevo. Thus the three defendants were first recommended to the good care of the Servian Major Popovic in Sabac, a member of the Narodna Odbrana, who gave them further recommendations to the Captain of the Royal Servian Border Police in Loznica, another member. He also obtained reduced fare for them on the Servian railways. From here they were recommended by the said captain to Mr. Grbic, an officer of the Royal Servian customs service. Thence they were guided to the island—Isakovica Ada, on the river Drina, and from here to Trnvo, Bosnia. Two confidential agents of the Narodna Odbrana, by name of Mico Micic and Yakov Milovic acted as their guides. In Trnvo the local representative of the Narodna Odbrana, by name of Obren Milosevic, took charge of them and brought them in touch with Veljko Cubrilovic, teacher in Priboj, County of Zwornik. This latter brought them to Mitar Jovo, Blagoje, Nedjo Kerovic and Cvijan Zepanovic, all of whom were confidential agents of the oftnamed Narodna Odbrana. These men took them to Misko Jovanovic, a merchant in Tuzla, Bosnia, who was also an accredited agent

of the same society. In his house they concealed all weapons, whence Misko Jovanovic and another member of the Narodna Odbrana, Ilic Danilo, a newspaper man and former teacher, transferred them to Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia. The latter subsequently engaged three confederates, by name of Vazo Cubrilovic, Svjetko Popovic, graduates of a college in Sarajevo, and Mehmedbasic, resident of Stolac, to assist the three first named defendants in the carrying out of their deed. The last three named men were adepts of the Greater Servia propaganda. Ilic Danilo also distributed the weapons among them on the day when the murder took place. He likewise showed them the places where they were to post themselves. A student by name of Lazar Dukic (Gyukic) assisted him in this work. Jovo Kranjcevic, another student of Sarajevo, arranged with the above named Vazo Cubrilovic that he would conceal all weapons after the murder had either been carried out successfully or failed. Finally it was claimed by the state that four other students, namely Branko Zagorac, Marko Perin, Dragan Kalenber and Nicola Forkazic, had previous knowledge of the murder plot and did not inform the authorities as prescribed by law. Nedjelko Cabrinovic, the first named defendant, threw a bomb on the automobile in which the late Archduke and Princess Hohenberg were driven. This bomb exploded but did not hurt the august couple. The explosion injured, however, thirteen bystanders, some of them seriously. Later on Gavrilo

Prinzip fired two shots from his Browning pistol on the Crown Prince's automobile, when the latter drove back from the reception at the Mayor's office. After the murder Ivan Momcinevic, a shoemaker; Franjo Sadilo, another shoemaker, and the latter's wife, Andjela, took all the weapons from Jovo Kranjcevic, mentioned heretofore, and concealed them. Nor did they surrender them, when the police came to make inquiries; in fact, they denied all knowledge about their whereabouts.

The above specified acts constitute crimes of high treason under Paragraph I of Art. III of the Criminal Law. All the forenamed defendants were arrested and have to stand trial, with the exception of Mehmedbasic, who fled to Montenegro.

This is the gist of the state's case. It can be seen that the state has followed up the murder plot from the very beginnings. The charge of intellectual authorship and participation of the Narodna Odbrana is not made in a general, vague way, but the particular instances whereon this charge rests are specified. The hiring of the murderers, supplying them with the required weapons, smuggling both these latter and the hired murderers across the Servian frontier is minutely recounted. Every detail of the preparation of the murder seems to have had the careful planning and help of this powerful society, which had its ramifications all over Servia, Bosnia and many other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. If we accept Professor Pupin's admission, even here in the United States.

The hearing of the testimony took many days. It would be out of place to report the entire testimony within the limited space of this study. I will, however, endeavor to bring in all the main points which the more important defendants and witnesses admitted either in confirmation or supplement of the prosecuting attorney's charges or which they denied.

On the whole it must be acknowledged by every impartial person who has followed the reports of the trial, that this latter was extremely fair and that the testimony has substantiated the State's contentions in practically every detail. It has also brought out many new, damaging facts.

TESTIMONY OF DEFENDANTS.

This is some of the more important testimony:

1. *Nedjelko Cabrinovic,* the bomb-thrower, confessed that he had made the acquaintance of Milan Vasic, Royal Servian Major and Secretary of the Narodna Odbrana in Belgrade, some time before and had received money and instructions from him concerning the whole propaganda of the Narodna Odbrana. This was at the time of the Balkan war. He was at that time employed by Professor Zivojin Barcic, director of the State printing office in Belgrade, and a member on the executive staff of the Narodna Odbrana. Cabrinovic confessed that through his constant affiliation with this society he became thoroughly imbued with the idea that it was the duty of every member to find means *that all the*

Southern Slav districts of Austria-Hungary should be detached from the monarchy by force and should be united at least temporarily with Servia. His individual desire was then to organize a Southern Slav republic.

Early in the spring of 1914, he was informed of the impending arrival of Archduke Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo for the military manoeuvres. He discussed with Prinzip and one Joko Bajic what could be done. All three decided to inquire from members of the Narodna Odbrana. The last named was a member of the society and suggested to consult Major Milan Pribiecevic and Professor Zivojin Barcic, employer of Cabrinovic. However, these were just then absent from Belgrade. Prinzip thereupon suggested to enter into communication with Milan Ciganovic, officer of the Servian State Railways. Ciganovic was closely connected with all the leaders of the Narodna Odbrana. He had formerly been a so-called "Komitadji," leader of a Servian franctireur-band. From the testimony of Cabrinovic it can be safely deduced, that before Prinzip had made his suggestion, he had already consulted Ciganovic. Ciganovic took them to Major Tankosic and through their joint aid—so Cabrinovic admitted—they were supplied with four Browning pistols and six bombs. He also admitted *that they were supplied with a sufficient dose of cyanide potassium to enable them to commit suicide. They had been admonished not to give away either Major Tankosic, who was a leading officer of the Servian*

General Staff, or anybody connected with the Narodna Odbrana. He then recounted their whole trip from Belgrade, substantiating in nearly every point the prosecuting attorney's charges. He brought out two additional facts, to wit: that Major Popovic in Sabac, to whom they had been directed by headquarters in Belgrade, supplied him and his confederates with false passports, a false description of their persons and letters to the Servian Captain, Joco Prvanovic, in Losnica. The other sensational admission was that *Professor Zivojin Barcic, influential member of the Narodna Odbrana, had introduced him to the Crown Prince Alexander of Servia. This meeting took place in April of this year at 9 o'clock in the evening.* Cabrinovic had a long talk with the Crown Prince, but refused to disclose the nature of this conversation. This presentation late in the evening, at a time when the Archduke's visit in Sarajevo was already known, must certainly be considered as significant. The Court did not press this point very strongly, however, as it is a standing rule in our law procedure that the doings and statements of members of reigning families cannot be discussed at public hearings. This rule seems to have been observed to a considerable extent, although Austria-Hungary is in war with Servia, proving the tact and reserve of the Court. Such and similar questions were left for the diplomatic and political authorities to decide.

Cabrinovic broke down repeatedly under the

strain of his depositions. Some admissions concerning letters of recommendation he only made after the letters had been shown to him. One letter had been found by the Austro-Hungarian troops after their occupation of Loznica. Cabrinovic also admitted that he was afraid of Major Tankosic, assistant Chief of the Servian General Staff, and that was the reason he participated in the murder plot.

2. The second defendant, *Gavrilo Prinzip,* acted very differently from the previous witness. He did not exhibit signs of regret or compunction over his murderous acts. Prinzip was for the last four years a student of a college in Belgrade. Formerly he had been at a school in Tuzla, Bosnia. During his residence in Belgrade he became convinced that all Southern Slav districts of Austria-Hungary, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, must be taken away from the monarchy by force, if necessary. That was the mission of Servia. Asked about the activities of the Narodna Odbrana, Prinzip replied that this society had the aim to raise the national conscience of Servia. He admitted knowing Major Tankosic, Ciganovic, admitted having received 150 dinars from the latter and a dose of cyanide potassium to commit suicide after the murder. Prinzip confessed that he had taken this poison as advised, but vomited it out again and suffered no harm. He admitted having received the bombs and pistols from Ciganovic and Major Tankosic. Although very reluctantly he had to admit the receipt of letters

to the various officers of the Narodna Odbrana en route from Belgrade to Sarajevo. Prinzip was also very reluctant about giving away any of his confederates, but contradicted himself repeatedly. He admitted of course having shot both the Archduke and his consort. An important admission which he made was to the effect that he had *written Danilo Ilic in the beginning of May of the current year from Belgrade that a murder plot was being hatched against Archduke Francis Ferdinand. He asked for his assistance.*

3. *Trifko Grabez* was the next defendant. He admitted almost everything that had been admitted by his two confederates about the receipt in Belgrade of the bombs, pistols, money and letters to various members of the Narodna Odbrana. A new point in his testimony was the admission that when they met Veljko Cubrilovic, a member of the Naradna Odbrana, the latter *instantly asked them whether the bombs and pistols were to be used in the plot against the life of Archduke Francis Ferdinand.* The prosecuting attorney singled out this admission as an instance that the *Narodna Odbrana had evidently instructed all of its members who could be of assistance, to give help to the murderers.* Grabez admitted that he was ready to kill the Archduke, had he had a chance. He was told by Danilo Ilic to post himself at the Carjeva Cuprija in Sarajevo and fire at the Archduke's automobile when the latter left the Konak, the residence of the Governor. After the murder he tried to escape but was arrested

on the way to the Servian town of Visehrad. Grabez admitted that the bombs *which they received in Belgrade were entirely like those which came from the Royal Servian arsenal at Kragujevac.*

4. The next defendant was *Danilo Ilic,* a bank clerk, who went shortly before the murder from Sarajevo to Belgrade. From there he returned to Sarajevo and took positions with two Servian papers. Ilic admitted having distributed the bombs, pistols and the cyanide potassium among the conspirators. He was a poor witness, contradicting himself frequently.

5. *Vaso Cubrilovic,* a student of a Sarajevo college, admitted his intention to kill the Crown Prince. He testified that upon receipt of the news of the Crown Prince's arrival, he instantly conceived the plan to kill him. He talked matters over with a friend by name of Gyukic, who took him to Danilo Ilic. Here he was *informed that everything had been arranged in Belgrade for the murder of the Crown Prince, whence weapons would be supplied.* He further admitted having received instructions from Ilic as to the use of throwing bombs.

6. *Cvejtko Popovic* was the next defendant. He had frequented a school in Sarajevo to prepare for school teaching. He had been reading pamphlets against Austria-Hungary and expressed himself in fullest sympathy with the Pan-Servian propaganda. Cubrilovic had asked him to join the conspiracy against the Crown Prince and he gladly heeded the

call. He was posted on the corner of Cumuria Street, near the Appel Riverside Avenue, and was expected to throw bombs at the Crown Prince when the latter's automobile passed by. He confessed that he had also received a dose of cyanide potassium from Ilic, but courage left him at the last minute to throw the bomb. He expressed regret for the deed.

7. The next defendant, *Veliko Cubrilovic,* testified that he had been twice in Belgrade, once at a congress of teachers and the second time to celebrate the Servian Sokolday. He met Bozo Milanovic, the president of the Narodna Odbrana, at Sabac at one of his visits and was asked by this latter to make a secret propaganda for the society's aims in Bosnia. *He admitted that the chairman of all Servian societies in larger townships or villages of Bosnia were members of the executive staff of the Narodna Odbrana.* He was himself president of the Servian Sokol in Priboj, and in this capacity belonged to the Narodna Odbrana. He made damaging admissions concerning the activities of many confederates. He confessed that he was sure about it, *that a strong revolutionary committee stood behind Prinzip and his confederates, which had supplied them with the deadly weapons.* He was, however, not prepared to admit that the Narodna Odbrana was the revolutionary committee, although everything pointed to that assumption. *When shown a letter of the Servian Army Inspector to the commander of the Drina Division of October*

5, 1911, wherein the latter was advised that the Sokol, Pobratimstwo and other Servian societies in Bosnia merely acted as "dummies" to cover up the revolutionary propaganda of the Narodna Odbrana, he tried to give an evasive answer. Thereupon he was shown evidence to the effect that he had supplied the Servian Government with a minute description of all roads, rivers, brooks, wells and the whole topography of the Bosnian district of Zvornik, also a complete list of all Servian families residing in this district. For this work he had received 50 dinars. Reluctantly he admitted this to be true, but tried to explain that this work served literary purposes only. Apparently by an oversight he gave away that Professor Dedijer had prepared a similar topographic description of Herzegovina. *He testified to the knowledge of the Servian origin of the bombs and said that he knew that he would have been killed by the Servian revolutionaries had he not aided the confederates as requested.*

His testimony was very important, as it supplied some missing links in the chain of evidence against the Narodna Odbrana. In connection with his testimony *the State entered as evidence the official files of the recent trial against a Servian spy by name of Alexa Popovic, in Banjaluka, Bosnia, which clearly demonstrate that Bozo Milanovic, above named president of the Narodna Odbrana in Sabac, Servia, was also directing the Servian central spy office over the whole of Bosnia.*

7a. *Misko Jovanovic* was the next defendant. He is the son of a wealthy merchant and owner of a moving picture show. He was a special agent of the Narodna Odbrana. He admitted having received about forty books concerning revolutionary literature sent to him by Bozo Milanovic, president of the N. O. in Sabac, which he distributed among Bosnian peasants. When shown a circular letter which he had addressed to the Sokol Society at Tuzla, of which he was the superintendent, and asked to explain, he gave an evasive answer. This was one passage of the circular letter: "Beloved brethren: We have not been given the privilege of sacrificing our lives for the liberation of our country, for Servia. *It is our sacred duty to help our (Servian) brethren with financial contributions.*" He admitted having discussed the matter of the murder of the Crown Prince, but he said he thought that the murder would not come off. He admitted, moreover, having concealed the weapons in his house in Tuzla and transferred them later to Doboj. *Nevertheless he had sent a telegram of regret to His Majesty the Emperor and King after the murder, signing this telegram as the superintendent of the Sokol Society at Tuzla.*

7b. *Lazar Gjukic,* student of a State normal school, and Branko Zagorac, student of a commercial school, admitted having had previous knowledge of the murder plot and various discussions with the chief conspirators. *Milan Kranjcevic* pleaded guilty to the charge that he had not denounced to

the authorities that the Narodna Odbrana had supplied bombs for the murder of the Crown Prince, although having had previous knowledge of the whole plot. He admitted that it was a matter of common knowledge among all his friends that the Narodna Odbrana enlisted so-called komitadjis, that is bands distributing bombs among them, and that *the scope of the whole propaganda of this society was to establish a great Southern Slav Empire under the leadership of the dynasty of Karagyorgyevic. He regretted the murder of the Crown Prince, but he avowed that it was necessary to kill a person of exalted rank as a sign of protest.*

8. *Marko Perim,* a student, *Nicola Forkazic,* a high school student, *Dragan Kalember,* another student, and *Miko Micic,* a baker, had all preliminary knowledge of the murder plot, but did not report it to the authorities. Their depositions were not very important.

The last named was shown various letters found in Loznica, Servia, after the occupation of this place by the Austro-Hungarian troops, which proved his complicity in the murder plot. He, however, denied his guilt.

9. The next defendant, *Jakov Milovic,* was a peasant. He was charged with having aided the murderers on the Servian frontier and put them into touch with some of the individuals named in the charge of the prosecuting attorney. He was a very unwilling witness. The next defendant was also a peasant by name of *Obren Milosevic.* He

admitted that the forenamed Milovic had brought the murderers to him. When he first refused to have anything to do with them, *Milovic gave the secret sign. Thereupon he took charge of the bombs and Milovic carried the revolvers.*

10. The next three defendants were a father and his two sons, by name of *Mitar Kerovic,* a peasant, *Nedo* and *Blagoja Kerovic.* They had been asked by Cubrilovic to drive the murderers in a cart to Tuzla. They had seen the bombs and pistols and were told for what purpose they would be used. *They were afraid to report this to the authorities. Cubrilovic had warned them to be silent. "The boys came from Servia and will risk their lives, therefore it is necessary to keep mum,"* so he had told them.

Blagoja Kerovic testified that he had been told that Bosnia was a *tear in the eye of Servia,* and that Trifko Grabez, one of the three chief defendants, had confided to him that *if they were betrayed, there would be people in Servia who would revenge them.* Cvijan Stjepanovic substantiated the latter's testimony.

11. *Ivan Momcinevic,* shoemaker, *Frank Sadilo,* carpenter, and his wife, *Angela Sadilo,* were charged with having received some of the weapons from the defendant Kranjcevic in Sarajevo. They admitted this, but excused themselves that they did not think that there was anything important connected with the safekeeping of these arms. Sadilo injected humor into his testimony. He said that he liked

the Serbs, when he did not see them. He admitted being a Croatian and a Catholic.

12. Next to the hearing of the testimony of the defendants the exact age of *Gavrilo Prinzip,* the chief plotter and murderer, was ascertained. According to the church record he was born on July 13th, 1894. In another record of the same church, however, the birthdate was given as June 13th, 1894.

TESTIMONY OF WITNESSES AND OTHER EVIDENCE.

Then followed the testimony of witnesses:

13. The first witness, *Trifko Krstanovic,* was one of the most important witnesses of the State to demonstrate the sinister activities of the Narodna Odbrana against Austria-Hungary.

Witness is an orthodox Servian. He came to Servia before the annexation of Bosnia and Herczegovina, *viz.,* before 1908. He came to Belgrade after unsuccessful efforts to find a position; he was on the point of returning to Bosnia when he met a police officer who took a fancy to him. The officer sent him to Major, then Captain, *Tankosic,* member of the Narodna Odbrana. This latter employed him as a "komitadji." Later on he was transferred to the staff of Major Pribicevic. There were twenty others with him; the number, however, gradually increased to 140. They were taught how to lay mines, blow up tunnels and destroy railway tracks. General Bozo Jankovic, president of the Narodna Odbrana in Belgrade and the whole

of Servia, often inspected them and paid for their board. In addition they were paid 25 paras a day for tobacco. Major Pribicevic, another member of the Narodna Odbrana, inspected them twice a week. After the annexation of Bosnia they were discharged. Through the good offices of General Jankovic he came in the employ of the Narodna Odbrana direct. Jankovic sent him repeatedly on secret missions to Sabac and to the frontiers. General Jankovic had told him that *the powers in being* (*viz. Russia*) *had wanted Servia to formally acknowledge the annexation of Bosnia, but also to be in readiness for the first emergency.* At that time the Narodna Odbrana was engaged in spy-work. It entertained a little depot of arms in the War Office. Witness also met the Servian officers Optrkic and Bralovic, in addition to the first named two majors, Tankosic and Pribicevic, who were to play such an important part in the murder plot against the Crown Prince. Witness testified that from personal knowledge he knew that only well-to-do and such persons could be members of the Narodna Odbrana in Bosnia, who could keep their mouths shut. Witness was 17 months in this employ as the special orderly of General Jankovic. After that he entered the services of Bozo Milanovic, the president of the Narodna Odbrana in Sabac, whose name was repeatedly mentioned above. After seven months of service he (Milanovic) gave him a membership ticket of the Narodna Odbrana. *This ticket consisted of a card of Milanovic, over whose*

name "Narodna Odbrana" was inscribed with a seal and a deathhead between two hands.

From Sabac witness was sent to the War Office for revolvers. There was continuous intercourse betwen the Narodna Odbrana and the War Office. In the War Office he saw the exact topographic map of Bosnia. *At one occasion he received orders from the Narodna Odbrana to go to Bosnia and murder one Ljubo Stanojevic.* This order was later withdrawn. Witness had a pay of 60 dinars, but found that this was not enough and so he left the employ of the Narodna Odbrana after four years' service. General Jankovic questioned him why he wanted to leave. When he answered that he did not receive enough pay, he was arrested. Later on he was released upon the intervention of a Servian member of the Bosnian Diet and was allowed to open a bakery in Bosnia. Witness declared that in Servia the feeling of *hatred for Austria-Hungary ran very high and everything had been done for years to prepare the war against Austria-Hungary.* According to witness, Major Pribicevic had probably not participated in the plot, because he would have been more clever in suppressing all evidence of complicity than Major Tankosic was.

14. Letters were next read of the witnesses: Mr. Arthur Job and Mr. Ibrahim Gjuzilberg, who had both been injured by the bomb explosion.

15. After the testimony of a few eye witnesses who had seen the throwing of the bomb by Cabrinovic the testimony of *Ljubo Stanarincic* was heard.

This man had been in Servia for some time and was arrested there as a spy, but escaped and came to Bosnia. He testified that he knew from personal knowledge that officers in the active service of the Servian army commanded the "Komitadji's." *At the time of the annexation of Bosnia and later on, the Narodna Odbrana employed these Komitadjis against Austria-Hungary, declaring a war of life and death against the monarchy. The Narodna Odbrana received subsidies from the Servian Government and was allowed the privilege of using arms of the state arsenals. The so-called black legion was a subdepartment of the Narodna Odbrana which had the task to assassinate everybody who would do anything against the Narodna Odbrana.*

16. Defendant Gabrinovic, who had listened to this testimony, stated on rebuttal that it was true in substance and all particulars except that there was no inscription on the arms showing that they actually were Servian state arms.

17. *Vlado Kujundcic* was the next witness. He had been a Servian Komitadji. He confirmed the last witness' testimony. He also deposed that at the time of the occupation of Loznica and Little Zvornik by the Austro-Hungarian troops, at which he was present, it was found in the files of Servian Government in these places that in that district alone Servia maintained an organization of 100 spies. *Micic,* one of the defendants, was also named as one of the highly qualified secret agents. The

files also demonstrated plainly that the Servian Sokol and Pobratimstvo societies in Bosnia were merely acting as "dummies" for the revolutionary propaganda of the Narodna Odbrana.

18. Next came the testimony of eight witnesses who had been injured by the explosion of the bomb which Gabrinovic had thrown on the automobile of the Crown Prince. Their testimony is irrelevant.

19. The next witness was General *Potiorek,* military governor of Bosnia. He gave a graphic description of how the bomb was thrown which injured several persons, also Lieutenant-Colonel Merici. The Crown Prince, so witness deposed, insisted on visiting the wounded officer in the hospital after the reception was over, although he (the witness) had warned him to drive to Ilidze on a different road than the one marked out in the program. When the automobile of the Crown Prince turned into Francis Joseph Road he suddenly heard two detonations and saw both the Crown Prince and Princess Hohenberg fall down from their seats. He recounted other particulars of the murder which are sufficiently known, through cable and press reports.

20. Next came the testimony of physicians who had conducted the post mortem and of a number of eye-witnesses who had seen the murderers in the act. Their testimony is of no particular interest. One witness, *Dobroslav Jevdevic, testified that to his personal knowledge Prinzip, the murderer of the Crown Prince, had had an entry to the highest*

circles in Belgrade. He did not specify what these highest circles were.

21. *Dragutin Stojanovic,* officer of the Servian State Railways, testified that he heard in Belgrade that a murder plot had been hatched there. His intention was to go to Sophia, capital of Bulgaria, and report what he knew. He went there, but for some reason could not carry out his intention. Later on he returned to Belgrade to gather further evidence, and finally went to Temesvár, Southern Hungary, where he was arrested as a Servian spy. He was a member of a "Komitatdi band" under command of Major Tankosic. A month before the murder of the Crown Prince *Major Pribicevic, of the Narodna Odbrana, asked him whether he would go to Bosnia on a special mission.* Stojanovic declined to go. He further testified that it was common knowledge in Belgrade that Major Pribicevic had gone to Bosnia to prepare everything for the war against Austria-Hungary. *Countless arms were smuggled into Bosnia through Major Pribicevic* and the Narodna Obrana's agency. After the murder of the Crown Prince Milan Ciganovic fled from Belgrade. Witness testified also that after the Balkan war the "Komitadjis" had to return all arms, bombs, etc., to the government. For this reason, only Servian Government or its members viz., the Narodna Odbrana, could have supplied bombs to the murderers.

22. The two main defendants Grabez, Cabrinovic, who had listened to this witness' testimony,

declared on rebuttal that witness was in the pay of the Austro-Hungarian secret service. A discussion ensued between the forenamed defendants and Prinzip in the course of which they admitted jointly that Gjuro Sarac, a man by name of Bukorac and a mysterious thin person by the name of Dr. Kasimirovic, all three in Belgrade, had also known about the plot. The latter is stated to have studied in Kiew, Russia, and have been a close friend of Major Tankosic.

The presiding judge thereupon remarked that one Dr. Radovan Kasimirovic was one of the editors of the "Hriscanski Vjesnik," the Christian Messenger, in Belgrade. The defendants were not able to give any more definite news about the identity of this man.

23. The State then produced the annual report (1912-13) of the Sokol Society "Dusan Silni" in Kragujevac, Servia. Copy of this report had been found in the offices of numerous Servian Sokol societies in Bosnia, including the one in Tuzla. This report was submitted to show the close connection of the Narodna Odbrana and these Sokol societies. The Narodna Odbrana was named in the report as the largest patron. The districts of Bosnia and Herzegovina with 40 societies and 3,000 members were named as contributing members. The report, which was read at the general meeting of the above-named society in Kragujevac, contains the following important passages: *"The aim of the Sokol societies is to unite all Slavic brethren. Part of these had*

been already liberated, but the enemy in the North, meaning Austria-Hungary, is more dangerous and heartless because he is, in both culture and finances, stronger than we are. This enemy keeps millions of our brethren in chains and slavery. We cannot leave them to the mercy of this terrible, insatiable enemy. We must hurry to their aid. Our souls yearn for the lost Servian Empire. We must visit our brethren across the Drina and the city of Sarajevo, in order to find the legacy of Saint Sava, etc. . . ." The report goes on in this bombastic language. At the end thanks are voted to the Narodna Odbrana and the Servian Sumadia division for their powerful assistance. The president of this Sokol Society is the Servian major of infantry, Milhajlo Kovasevic; president of the executive committee, a Servian major of artillery, Tasovac.

The State in presenting this evidence also emphasized the close relations between the Servian army and the Narodna Odbrana as well as the Sokol societies. The army and these societies were practically one great body plotting hand in hand against the stability and existence of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the army by supplying regular and irregular soldiers and arms, the Sokol societies by fomenting dissent in the ranks of the population of Bosnia, the Narodna Odbrana by helping to do both.

24. Defendants *Veljko Cubrilovic* and *Misko Jovanovic* on rebuttal declared that they were not

cognizant of the activities of the Sokol Society in Kragujevac. Defendant Cabrinovic, however, admitted that this latter society had sent circulars and lists to all Sokol societies in Bosnia. He also admitted knowledge that the Narodna Odbrana had helped to bring about the present war.

25. A number of witnesses were then heard on minor details of the murder plot. A witness by name of *Ivan Grcar* confirmed the depositions of former witnesses concerning the revolutionary propaganda of the Narodna Odbrana with reference to the disruption of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Some of the defendants on rebuttal declared him to be a spy. At this point the hearing and discussions were very heated and the Court had to frequently admonish and calm the wrangling parties.

26. One of the next witnesses by name of Luka *Alinovic* testified that to his personal knowledge *there existed many societies in Belgrade whose aim was to have all generals in the Austro-Hungarian army assassinated. These societies entertained close intercourse with similar societies in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Croatia.* Questioned to specify these Servian societies he gave evasive answers, but later on mentioned the Sokol societies and the Narodna Odbrana as being the primary movers of the whole propaganda. It is fair to add that he made this statement as a matter of a common knowledge among all his friends and not as a matter of direct first-hand knowledge.

27. Another witness by name of Jove Jaglicic

testified that one Petar Klaric, of the township of Foca and member of the Narodna Odbrana, had approached him to become a Servian spy and to enter the Narodna Odbrana as a member or worker. According to Petar Klaric's statement, who also had *accepted a similar position with the Narodna Odbrana, he had to collect data concerning the military forces in Kalinovik, Bosnia. The Servian Major Todorovic in Banja Koviljaca, near Loznica, had taught him to instruct new members of the Narodna Odbrana in the use of bombs and other weapons. A special duty of all members of this society consisted in using all possible efforts to cause wholesale desertions of Austro-Hungarian soldiers and in blowing up railway tracks and gunpowder magazines.*

28. The next testimony was read from the statement made by *Svetozar Milanic* under oath some time before his death. This man had gone to Belgrade early in 1914 to earn his living there as a teacher of German and French. He had 1,600 crowns on his person and his immediate future seemed to be assured. He applied for a position as assistant teacher in a Belgrade high school, but was unsuccessful in his application. Thereupon he applied for a position as clerk and sales agent of a few Servian trading firms. At the time when the visit of the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince in Sarajevo had already become known in Belgrade he had in the café of the Hotel Eichskranz in Belgrade repeatedly witnessed a gang of young men with a

photo of the Crown Prince which was passed from hand to hand. He could not overhear their conversation, however. Later on he moved to an appartment which he shared with another man. In the same house a number of young men lived in whose quarters daily meetings took place. From his roommate, who knew these people, he heard that the chief of the Servian detective department came there daily to instruct these young men in various languages which they would need soon. From various indications and conversations with his roommate, Milanic suspected that some plot was prepared against the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince, as this latter's name and impending visit was on everybody's lips in those days. He tried to investigate, but all of a sudden the whole gang of young men cleared their quarters. Thereupon he decided to call at the Austro-Hungarian Consulate General, but was arrested on his way to the consular office by a Servian gendarme who escorted him to the police. Here he was questioned about the purpose of his visit to the consulate. Then he was put into various jails on a trumped up charge that he was a spy. In the jail he was beaten repeatedly with sandbags, and once he nearly fell victim to an assault of another inmate of the jail. According to the witnesses' statement *this murderous assault must have been arranged by the police, as a police officer was quietly standing by when the assault took place. Eventually one day he was taken out of jail and brought before the chief of police. Both*

this latter and the assistant chief were present. They handed him triumphantly a clipping from a paper referring to the murder of the Crown Prince. "You tried to prevent this," so he testified they said to him, "but we are cleverer than you are. Now Austria-Hungary's turn comes next. We will destroy it." Witness was told that he would have to leave Belgrade at once. Before leaving, however, he was asked to sign a paper that all his effects had been handed over to him in best order. Milanic refused to sign because both his money and sundry valuables had been taken from him during his confinement. In spite of his protestations he was escorted over the frontier to Belgrade, and was told by the police that Count Berchtold would undoubtedly come and call for his lost effects. *Witness was shown the photos of the murderers, and he was asked whether he could identify them as some of the young men whom he had seen in the house where he lived. He identified Trifko Grabez, one of the three chief defendants,* but was uncertain about the remainder. Defendant Prinzip on rebuttal branded Milanic as a spy.

29. A number of other depositions were read then containing minor evidence. The State then submitted a book entitled "Narodna Odbrana" as court evidence, which was accepted. According to the book, published in Servia, this society had been organized around or some short time before the annexation of Bosnia. The enrolling and training of voluntary corps so-called "Komitadjis" is declared

to be one of the principal aims of the Narodna Odbrana. *The latter has agencies in Servia and abroad which are called upon to circulate everywhere reports of the enmity of Austria-Hungary against Servia. It is asked that the foreign press should be interested in this vilification campaign of Austria-Hungary abroad. Austro-Hungarian, Italian, French and Russian papers were thus won for the cause of Servia, but among others there also figured the Balkan, published in Chicago, U. S., and the Borba Balkana, published in St. Louis, Mo. According to Article 23 of its rules and by-laws the Narodna Odbrana's official seal contains a deathhead between two hands.* An annex of this book called the "Black List" was thereupon read, referring to the Austro-Hungarian army. These were some of its contents: "Bosnia and Herzegovina have always been Servian countries. After the Congress of Berlin Austria-Hungary occupied these countries and has since tortured the Servian nation in every possible way. Since Europe was not willing to help Servia, the latter decided to free herself from the Austrian yoke. *All Servians must get thoroughly familiar with the conditions in the Austro-Hungarian army, because that will help Servia in her future war.* Austria-Hungary has ten other nations and this is her weakness, because the soldiers would not want to fight. The Austro-Hungarian artillery was weak. Servians and Croatians constitute seven of the contingent of the Austro-Hungarian army. *All Slavs are dissatisfied and*

could be easily induced to betray their country. The Austro-Hungarian army is afraid of guerilla wars in the mountains. *The Servians need not be afraid, because the Austro-Hungarian army would have other enemies."* In other pamphlets published in Belgrade in 1912, which the prosecuting attorney also submitted as court evidence, *the Servian population is asked to incite revolutions in Austria-Hungary, that being the only way to destroy the monarchy.* In two pamphlets of the same year, entitled "Ratne Pjesme" and "Smrt Jednog Heroja," the union of Servia *with Bosnia and Herzegovina is asked, and the murderous attempt of Bogdan Zerajic on the life of the former military governor of Bosnia, General Baron Varesanin, is glorified. Servia's youth is asked to follow this example."*

Defendant Prinzip, at the reading of this passage, interrupted the prosecuting attorney with a "Hoch Zerajic." Whereupon he was admonished by the court to abstain from improper remarks. Defendants Cabrinovic, Prinzip and Grabez, on rebuttal, demanded the subpoena of various witnesses. Upon their request being granted by the court, Grabez declared that this was a mistake; they wanted to mislead the court. He knew that nothing could happen to him beyond the twenty years' jail.

After this interruption, the prosecuting attorney resumed the reading from the pamphlets. The information contained in these latter tends to show that the following societies represent the Narodna Odbrana propaganda in Austria-Hungary: the Ser-

vian society "Prozvieta" in Sarajevo, all the Servian Sokol societies in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Dalmatia and the Bácska, Southern Hungary, numerous lecture clubs, singing societies, agricultural societies, etc.

30. Next came the depositions of the medical experts concerning the wounds inflicted by the bullet shots on the Crown Prince and his consort, and the testimony of the gun experts. Various gun experts made depositions. *All agreed that the bombs used in connection with the murder plot by the murderers were identical with the hand grenades used in the Servian army. The construction of these hand grenades was declared to be absolutely identical with those found at another expert examination in Brcko, which were wrapped up in the original form of packing as issued by the Servian state arsenal in Kragujevac. On these wrapping papers the original signatures of the Servian depot officers in Kragujevac were plainly legible. Hand grenades of this construction are not manufactured outside of Servia anywhere.* The gun experts were entirely in accord about this. The revolvers were declared to be modern type revolvers made in Belgium.

31. After a few testimonies of minor importance and some general statements made by defendants Vazo Cubrilovic and Lazar Gjukic parts of the calendars of the Servian "Prozvieta" society in Sarajevo (named above) were offered in evidence and read in court. The "Prozvieta" society, as

stated in her by-laws, was engaged in cultural pursuits only. In this calendar issued for the year 1914, however, items such as the following were contained: that the victory of the Servian army over the Bulgarian and Turkish troops was all the more welcome as this victory was really a victory over Austria-Hungary. By raising the national conscience of Servia the national foundations of Austria-Hungary were undermined. Therefore, every strife among Servians must cease in order to achieve the great aim: Austria-Hungary's downfall. It was immaterial what means were used to obtain this end, provided they were adequate, etc.

32. The next witness was *Henry Schulz,* a tailor apprentice, whom the Servians had used as a spy against Austria-Hungary. His testimony was damaging both to Bozo Milanovic, the oftnamed president of the Narodna Odbrana in Sabac, Servia, and to one defendant, viz., *Misko Jovanovic.* Witness admitted having been a Servian spy in 1913, and having surrendered valuable strategic information concerning the district of Tuzla. He also admitted having received various amounts from various Servian officers. One Kosta Todorovic, a member of the Narodna Odbrana, had told him that they, the Servians, *had plenty of confidential men in Bosnia, on whom they could rely in time of war.*

Another witness testified that from his personal knowledge many movements of younger people, chiefly students, in Croatia, Bosnia, of which he had personal knowledge had been invariably in-

spired by the Narodna Odbrana. Witness deposed that from the time that the delegates of Austrian Southern Slav universities visited Belgrade in 1912 the Pan-Servian propaganda had gained a tremendous impetus. *At that time Crown Prince Alexander of Servia received two of the students by name of Vladimir Bazilic and Luca Jukic in audience.* The government in Belgrade supplied the students with money, and soon thereafter Luka Jukic committed his sensational murderous attempt on the life of Baron Skerlecz, Banus (governor) of Croatia.

The plan was to cause war between Servia and Austria-Hungary should the revolutionary plot of the students prove entirely successful. *At the time of the trial against Luka Jukic and his confederates, a Servian professor from the University in Belgrade brought the greetings of Crown Prince Alexander to Zagreb to all the defendants. Witness having been a defendant in that trial, also was the recipient of this royal favor.*

Theodore *Popovic* and Trezimir *Kovacic,* the next two witnesses, testified that from second hand they knew that the Narodna Odbrana had supplied some 68,000 crowns to defray the expenses of the Luka Jukic trial in Zagreb. Their testimony also brought out some further interesting evidence, which I, however, deem out of place to record here, as it is based on second hand knowledge and more or less hearsay. As circumstantial evidence these statements may have had considerable value.

33. The state then offered various reports from various courts concerning personal data of some of the defendants and these latter were given full privilege to deny or confirm same.

From a protocol drawn up in the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Belgrade, which was read in court, it appeared that Milan Ciganovic, officer of the Servian State Railways, member of the Narodna Odbrana and confidential agent of General Bozo Jankovic, had left Belgrade recently, and was supposed to have gone to Ribari. Gavrilo Prinzip had been in constant communication with him while he was in Belgrade. Ciganovic had written his mother from Belgrade in May that he would go to Saloniki. The Servian State Railways informed her that he was alive, but would not give any further clue as to his whereabouts. These data were brought out in the trial and are important also because, in her answer to the Austro-Hungarian note, Servia had stated that Ciganovic had been "employed until June 15 in the Department of Railroads, and it has not been possible to arrest this man up to now." The prefect of police of Belgrade, however, is cited by the Austro-Hungarian Government in its comment on the Servian reply having brought about the departure of Ciganovic, and having known where the latter was. The same prefect had also declared in an interview that there was no man of the name of Milan Ciganovic in Belgrade. From the letter of the Department of Railroads to the mother of Ciganovic, which was submitted in court,

it would seem clearly that this department knew where Ciganovic was, consequently the prefect of police and Servian Government *must* necessarily also have known it.

34. After various other testimonies concerning defendants of minor importance, a report of the police department in Zimony was submitted as court evidence. Zimony is in Hungary right across from the city of Belgrade. From this report it appeared that the Narodna Odbrana had been founded in 1908 in Belgrade. The following were the founders: General Bozo Jankovic, president; Ljuba Jovanovic, Ljuba Davidovic, Vojislav Bujovic, Professor Zivojin Barcic, Svetozar Tomic, Major Voja Tankosic and Major Milan Pribicevic. All of the named persons have played a very prominent part in Servian public life. Some of them, in fact, were practically the leaders of modern Servia. Major Pribicevic had drawn up the revolutionary by-laws, directed against Austria-Hungary.

35. This was followed by the lecture of the by-laws of various societies which were involved in the trial. On rebuttal, three defendants, *Gjukic, Kranjcevic* and *Vazo Cubrilovic,* denied that the by-laws of their secret student societies were like those which had been read, declaring that their laws had been made later.

When the files of the Schafer and Hercigonja trial for high treason were offered in court as evidence, and parts of them having reference to the present trial read, *defendant Prinzip all of a sud-*

den stood up and declared that he was an enemy of the reigning dynasty. With these files the state tried to demonstrate that the complicity of Servian Government in the revolutionary propaganda against Austria-Hungary was already apparent in the Hercigonja case, which, however, was an unsuccessful case from the Servian point of view, as Servia did not obtain what she wanted. Having failed in that instance, every effort was strained to bring the murder plot against the Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary to a successful issue.

After some further papers and testimony of minor importance had been offered, the submission of evidence was closed.

CLOSING ARGUMENTS OF PROSECUTION AND DEFENSE.

To American readers it may perhaps occur why the defense did not submit special evidence after the state had rested its case. Criminal law procedure in our country is somewhat different from the procedure in this country. First of all, as a rule, the prosecuting attorney does not make a dark secret of his evidence prior to the trial. Counsel for defense can consult with the special judge who attends to the preliminary examination, and also with the prosecuting attorney about the case's evidence. Both sides are pretty well aware of the extent and nature of the mutual evidence beforehand. In a case such as this the defendant's own testimony was really evidence for the defense, although formally the state presented it. On the

other hand defendants testified on rebuttal whenever they desired to do so. They could have done so after each new witness' testimony. All testimony introduced by them was admitted. Altogether, about one hundred persons testified, and a great deal of written or printed evidence was submitted. If the whole evidence was not recounted here, this is merely due to the limited space of this study, and because a great deal of it I found unimportant from the American reader's point of view.

The prosecuting attorney's argument to the court lasted nearly a whole day and covered the whole ground. He first drew attention to the enthusiasm of the population of Sarajevo which greeted the arrival of the Crown Prince. In contrast thereto, he emphasized the poignant grief into which the population of the whole country had been cast by the dastardly murder. The actual murderers, so he said, were a few immature young men, who had been instigated to commit the murder. The real instigators were not in court, he was sorry to state. *Servia was the instigator of the murder.* Servia, which owed her independent existence and the increase of her territory primarily to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The latter had saved her from utter destruction after the defeat of Slivnitza, which Prince Alexander of Battenberg inflicted on Servia. Yet Servia had repaid Austria-Hungary with dark ingratitude. *Servia, in her place, had been instigated by another higher up, by the despotic Empire of the Czar,* which used Servia as its plaything and

tool. No wonder that Servia, under the pernicious influence of Russian flattery or bullying, had gradually lost all sense of proportion. She wanted to play the same part in the ranks of the Southern Slav nations as Russia is playing among the Northern Slavs. Under this sinister influence, Servia stopped at nothing. Using the slogan of the union of all Southern Slav nations as her battle cry, she bent all her efforts to disrupt the existence of the monarchy. Particularly did she exhibit a keen desire to wrest Bosnia and Herzegovina from Austria-Hungary's rule. Servia's ambition was the cause of many a crisis in Europe. When the monarchy annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 she began to organize revolutionary movements to undermine the stability of the monarchy from within. The great powers of Europe had failed to support her ambition, so she took recurrence to her own methods. *Evidence of this case had shown, so the prosecuting attorney said, that Servian state ministers, high officers of the army and the Servian Crown Prince himself had had personal and frequent intercourse with the hired murderers of the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince.* This charge could be fairly made. The Narodna Odbrana had been the tool in the hands of the Servian Government. This society had infected the entire social life of the Southern Slavs in the monarchy. It preached hatred of the monarchy. It advocated Bosnia's and Herzegovina's forcible separation from the monarchy. It had taken possession of the Serb

Autonomous Church and School Systems in Bosnia. It had entrapped all social, cultural, agricultural and even financial organizations into its meshes. These organizations had gradually become auxiliaries of the baneful Pan-Servian activities. Their members did not hesitate to commit high treason against Austria-Hungary for the benefit of Servia. Defendants had practically all admitted that the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince was an obstalce in the way of the Pan-Servian dreams coming true. Servian headquarters in Belgrade recognized in Arch Duke Francis Ferdinand a strong, leading individual who would frustrate their ambitious plans. This is why these headquarters decided that he must be eliminated at any cost. Hercigonja, whom they had hired as a murderer, failed in his effort. Thereupon they discovered a few impecunious youngsters in Belgrade, whom they thoroughly prepared, playing on their flexible enthusiastic nature. Servian Government supplied the hired murderers with arms and money. Its officers taught them how to use the deadly weapons, which they then caused to be smuggled across the Servian frontier. In Bosnia its confidential organs helped to transport these weapons and the murderers to Sarajevo. All these acts constituted, from the point of view of Austria-Hungary, crimes of high treason. All confederates who had either directly participated in the murder or had helped or abetted the murderers, had failed to notify the state authorities of the impending murder, were guilty as charged. The prose-

cuting attorney then specified each separate case, and asked for a just punishment in pursuance with the law.

38. On the following two days the attorneys for the defense spoke. Their task was a difficult one. The whole country being in the thralls of war, practically for the very reason which caused the trial, what could they say in defense of self-confessed murderers and their allies. Yet, they acquitted themselves with high credit to their profession. Dr. *Max Feldbauer,* Gavrilo Prinzip's attorney, argued that his client was the victim of the criminal higher-ups in Belgrade. Prinzip would like to appear as a national hero who had championed the cause of all Southern Slavs. In reality he was a poor deluded youth who had been transformed into a fanatic in Belgrade. Prinzip, so he said, had merely committed murder, not high treason. The attorney also argued that he had not yet accomplished his twentieth year at the time when he committed the murder. He pleaded for the mercy of the court. Concerning defendant, *Blagoje Kerovic,* Dr. Feldbauer attempted to show that at the worst he had violated a minor paragraph of the criminal code only.

Jakov *Milovic* he declared to be a mere rambler who had no part in either the murder or high treason. *Forkazie* had known nothing of the murder and should be acquitted. Next came Dr. *Premuzics* who used all his eloquence to show that *Cabrinovic* deserved clemency, because he had given exhibitions

of honest repentance and because he had evidently acted under the hypnotic influence of the powers in Belgrade. Misko *Jovanovic* was merely guilty of having taken bombs and arms from his place to Doboj. The attorney tried to show that he had not been a confederate and was ignorant of the real use of these weapons. Mitar *Kerovic* was a peasant of too primitive intellectual powers to grasp the meaning of the whole plot. Branko *Zagorac,* so his attorney said, did not appreciate the serious character of the whole proceeding and for this reason neglected to report same to the authorities.

Dr. *Pericic* pleaded for *Cvjetko Popovic, Svijan Stjepanovic, Momcinovic* and *Sadilo.* His defense was their ignorance of the real purpose of the weapons which they had concealed. Judge *Struppel* argued that *Trifko Grabec* had been a tool of others, while the State, so he alleged, had not made a case against Mico *Micic,* Jovo *Kerovic* and *Marko Kerim.*

Dr. *Zistler* for Veljko *Cubrilovic* raised points of law. He argued that the court had no jurisdiction over his client. His client, moreover, had no knowledge of the use of the bombs and pistols. For his other client, Vaso *Cubrilovic,* he alleged his minor age as an extenuating circumstance. Ivo *Kranjcevic* was a good, loyal Croatian who could not be suspected of high treason.

Judge *Malek* tried to show that in the case of *Ilic* no connection existed between him and the Narodna Odbrana.

Defendant *Djukic* (Gyukic) was only partially guilty, inasmuch as he had said to Cubrilovic, that Ilic was preparing a big plot. For defendants Obren Milosevic and Kalenber, Judge Malek pleaded extenuating circumstances.

After the prosecuting attorney had replied to all arguments a significant scene followed. All defendants stood up, declaring that they regretted what had happened. They were ignorant of the fact that the Crown Prince had children. They asked that the orphans be told that they were sorry for their deeds. The children should forgive them. Defendants said that they were not guilty. They had been deluded into the belief that they had been sacrificing themselves for a good cause. Cabrinovic, one of the three chief defendants, asked permission of the court to make a statement. Permission was given. In a longer address, often interrupted by sobs, he declared on his oath that he and his confederates did not really intend to murder the Crown Prince. The plan of the murder plot originated from Belgrade. It was the outcome of their sojourn in Servia's capital, where they came in touch with the Servian Government people. They had there been feasted and "spoiled" by everybody who was in the lead in high government circles and the people. They had been deluded into the belief that they were doing something great and patriotic. They did not really hate the Habsburg Dynasty, although they were not pleased with the system.

The court then adjourned until the 28th of October, when sentence was given.

THE SENTENCE.

Sentence in the famous trial was handed down on October 28th, that is exactly on the day four months after the murder was committed.

Pursuant to Paragraphs 111 and 299, 210 of the Criminal Code, Gavrilo Prinzip, Nedeljko Cabrinovic and Trifko Grabez, the three chief defendants, were found guilty of high treason and murder in the first degree. All three were given the highest penalty allowed by law to wit: twenty years in the penitentiary. The first named will be subjected to one day of fast in every month, the third named to one such day of fast in every three months. For the second, no such provision was made. In addition, all three of them will spend the day of the 28th of June of each year in a dark cell alone.

The reason why death sentence was not applied in their case is due to the fact that they had not yet passed their twentieth year at the time of the commission of the murder. The Austrian law stipulates that no murderer can be sentenced to death who at the time of the murder has not yet attained his twentieth year. Under the Austrian law, a person under twenty has not yet reached the age of full responsibility.

Danilo Ilic, Veljko Cubrilovic, Misko Jovanovic, Nedo Kerovic and Jakov Milovic were found guilty

of high treason and participation in the murder plot and were sentenced to death.

The other defendants were sentenced as follows: Mitar Kerovic, for high treason, to life imprisonment; Vaso Cubrilovic, for participation in acts of high treason, to sixteen years penitentiary with one day of fast every six months.

Cvejtko Popovic, for participation in acts of high treason, to thirteen years penitentiary.

Lazar Gyukic and Jovo Kranjcevic, for participation in acts of high treason, to ten years penitentiary; Svijan Styepanovic, for the same crime, to seven years penitentiary; Branko Zagorac and Marko Perim, for acts in connection with high treason, to three years imprisonment. All of the forenamed have to spend the day of the 28th of June in a dark cell alone.

Jovo Kerovic, Blagoje Kerovic, Nikola Forkazic, Dragan Kalenber, Miko Micic, Obren Milosevic, Ivan Momcinevic, Franjo Sadilo and Angela Sadilo were acquitted and forthwith released.

CONCLUSION.

And here ends the Sarajevo trial. I have endeavored to recount all important incidents as truthfully as it is possible to do it. I have not tried to make things look worse than they were, nor have I sought to make them appear better. I have left out the mention of hearsay evidence almost entirely, and where I did report it, I stated explicitly that it was not based on first hand

knowledge. Ordinarily, a record of a trial makes dry reading. This trial, however, was of such far-reaching consequences that it cannot fail to attract attention. I believe that the defendants had as fair a trial as could have been given them in any country.

We have been constantly reading reports in the daily papers of the occupation of Sarajevo by the Servian and Montenegrin troops. The trial was stated to have taken place amidst the roaring thunder of the enemies' guns. Of course, these reports were more or less visionary. Sarajevo was never for a moment in danger of occupation. Its natural position makes it well nigh impregnable. Moreover, the enemy had at its very best hardly crossed the frontier. It is true, Sarajevo is very close to the Servian frontier, and this vicinity may have raised the expectations of both the enemy's generals and their sympathizers in the press.

But when this is said, let us stop for a moment and consider how difficult the situation must have been for the judges and attorneys who played their parts in this world drama. Let us consider the responsibility that everybody felt, the painstaking care that was taken by everybody to serve the ends of justice.

We all are human and we all may be given to errors or blunders. Yet, from all tangible indications, it seems that no miscarriage of justice has taken place in Sarajevo. We are proud to point to its outcome, because it brought a vindication to our

country's cause. But this is not all. We are proud of our courts of justice, because they have always maintained their independence. We know of no Austrian or Hungarian judge who can be bribed, of none who would take cognizance of anybody or anything except his own conception of the ideals of justice. Austria-Hungary is a monarchy, yet her court system is the very acme of democracy. In the performance of their official duties, Austro-Hungarian courts or judges will take the orders of nobody and nobody is high enough in the monarchy who could ever try to tell a court what it should do.

I make these comments purposely, because at the time of the trial and at the time when sentence was passed, various editorials have appeared in American papers, which were, to say the least, discouraging.

I will cite two at random. Both were published in a leading morning paper:

"The world does not believe that the boy was the agent of the Servian government. No government would be so blind as to inspire a deed which must so redound to its disadvantage and its discredit. More probably he was merely an unbalanced enthusiast, seeking to sacrifice his own life in striking a blow for his country. His murderous act was the opportunity which Austria awaited to strike a blow at the little Servian nation which was waxing dangerously ambitious.

All the white books in the world fail to bring conviction that Servia was, in any degree, guilty.

"Prinzip is now on trial for his life in Sarajevo. As far as Prinzip himself is concerned, the trial will be a mockery. There is no doubt of his guilt. The punishment of the murderer is his due. But the trial will go still further. It will be Austria's attempt to convict not Prinzip but the whole Servian nation. Twenty-two alleged conspirators must stand trial with Prinzip, and one cannot fancy that their chances for acquittal will be large. Through all these Servians every effort will be made to show that the Belgrade Government inspired the murder upon June 28. Austria is making a final desperate effort to clear her own skirts and to shift the responsibility for the epoch-making catastrophe in which she has involved Europe."

"To have sentenced Prinzip and Gabrinovic to death would have been to place upon them direct responsibility for the assassination. This would not be in harmony with the Austrian theory. Austria has insistently held that the two schoolboys were merely unimportant tools in the hands of a body of Servian conspirators who acted with the cognizance, if not with the direct inspiration, of the Servian Government. The murder at Sarajevo, committed by an irresponsible youth, acting solely of his own volition, would have been no excuse for the Austrian attack on Servia,

which brought about the European war. The mercy shown to Prinzip is in accordance with the theory of a national Servian conspiracy for which the entire Servian nation merits punishment.

"Twenty alleged conspirators were tried with Prinzip and Cabrinovic. Of these, four are condemned to death, and one to life imprisonment. They are nameless in the dispatches, and the details of the evidence against them are unknown. They are probably held to be important personages in the murder plot.

"It is not to be doubted that the court at Sarajevo took cognizance of the desires of Vienna. Its judgment is a striking instance of consistency and of logical adherence to a theory."

With no knowledge of local conditions, or of the facts in the case, these facts being at that time unknown to anybody, does the author of these editorials consider them a fair presentation of this trial?

I trust that he who wrote these editorials will read my above report of this trial, and I trust that after having read it he will be man and American enough to admit that at least he made a mistake.

IV.—HAS SERVIA ANY HISTORICAL CLAIMS OVER BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA?

In the clash between Austria-Hungary and Servia, sympathizers of the latter have frequently advanced the claim that in former times of history Bosnia and Herzegovina had been a part of Servia. According to them, Austria-Hungary in 1908 robbed Servia of what was her own under the rights of history. Although historical rights, if once lost, can hardly again serve as a basis of claims to recover sovereign rights over a territory, we will for the sake of argument assume that they can. If Bosnia really had belonged to Servia prior to its incorporation in any other country, then under this assumption, the claims of her sympathizers existed at the time when Austria-Hungary "robbed" her of these two provinces in 1908 and also exist today. Servia, in fact, claims that she is fighting now to establish them again.

What is history's verdict concerning these claims?

EARLY HISTORY OF BOSNIA.

Omitting the remote times when Bosnia was part of the Roman Empire and the invasions of the Goths, we have reliable information concerning the past of Bosnia as far back as the 12th century, A. D. Bosnia was then originally divided into

various small principalities under the leadership of so-called Zsupans. The most important ones were Bosna, Ozora, Rama and Chelm. Their inhabitants, a mixture of Illyrians and Southern Slavs, adopted Christianity very early. Their Bishop of Bosna was subordinated to the Archbishop of Spalato, and later to the Archbishop of Ragusa. In the 12th century an oriental orthodox sect, the Bulgarian "bogumils," related to the Byzantinian Paulicians (also called Patarenes), began to gain strong foothold. Their appearance on the scene sowed the seed for future feuds.

Beginning from the reign of Coloman the Librarian, King of Hungary, who also conquered Croatia, and more particularly from King Stefan II of Hungary (beginning of 12th century), the Zsupans of the various principalities which today constitute Bosnia and Herzegovina recognized the feudal lordship of the Kings of Hungary. During the reign of King Stefan II Emperor John of Byzancz, that is, the Greek Empire, repeatedly invaded Bosnia and Syrmia from the South. King Stefan II defeated his troops in 1129, whereupon they made peace. In 1130, just before his death, King Stefan arranged for the marriage of his successor, King Béla the Blind, of Hungary, with Ilona, daughter of Uros, Chief Zsupan of the Rácz (who ruled over a territory comprising the Servia of today). Béla the Blind conquered Dalmatia from Venice and also Spalato. Subsequently he occupied all the territory in the valley of the Sprecse, which possesses

rich salt mines, (practically the only salt mines of the Balkans). These territories received the group name of "Banate of Só" from these salt mines, Só being the equivalent of salt in Hungarian. He also gathered in Rama and took the title of King of Rama in or about 1138.

Hungary's influence over Bosnia increased enormously after the death of Emperor Manuel of Byzancz, in 1180. King Béla III of Hungary was a successful conqueror in the Balkans. He crossed the River Save, conquered the fortresses of Barancs- and Belgrade in 1182. He even proceeded as far as Sophia in 1183.

At the time of the death of King Emmeric of Hungary, the kings of Hungary had the following titles: King of Hungary, Croatia, Rama, Servia, Halics, Bulgaria and Bosnia. The territories of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia were incorporated in the Hungarian Kingdom of those days.

CZAR DUSAN, THE DREAMER.

Under King Robert Charles of Hungary (of the dynasty of the Anjous) Hungary in 1319 conquered even Macedonia, and Milutin, then King of Servia, was defeated by him.

During the reign of King Robert Charles, Stephan *Dusan* ascended the throne of Servia in 1331. Stephan Dusan was a dreamer. He evolved in his mind the idea of a "Great Servian Empire," which should include the whole Balkans first and the whole Roman Empire next. After having conquered the

larger part of Servia and having built up Belgrade, he had himself crowned Serb and Greek Emperor and desired to be known as the "almost Lord of the whole Roman Empire." In those days to hold a position in the world titles were even more required than today. He selected Venice as his national ally to rule over the Byzantinian Empire. Venice was then one of the dominant powers of Europe. To have Venice's support for the conquest of the world meant as much then as the United States' or Germany's support would mean today. But he seemed to have an unsteady mind, for he soon abandoned this idea and began to invade the neighboring territories. His troops overran Halomföld, Dalmatia and Bosnia. As a prosecutor of Catholics he was welcomed in this latter country by the "bogumils," the orthodox sectarians. As an enemy of King Louis the Great of Hungary, son of Robert Charles, he again had the sympathies of Venice, which feared the great power of Louis. There also was another motive that prompted him to raid Bosnia. Stephan Kotromanovics, also called Stephan II, was the Chief Zsupan of Bosnia (1323-1353). He was the father of the beautiful "banilla" Elizabeth, for whose hand Dusan had aspired in vain, having been jilted in favor of King Louis the Great. Whether it was an actual overthrow in the game of love or whether King Louis seemed a more acceptable son-in-law to Stephan II is not easy to say. However, when Czar Dusan broke into Bosnian territory he was defeated by Stephan II with

the assistance of King Louis' troops, and when he made a second attempt he was decisively beaten by his luckier rival, King Louis the Great himself, in 1354. This was shortly after the death of Stephan II. Stephan Tvartko, cousin of the latter, was his successor, but for a while at least his mother, Ilona Szubics, ruled, who yielded in everything to the wishes of King Louis and the Pope. For this subserviency King Louis created Stephan Tvartko King of "Bosnia and the Adriatic Shore." Dusan could do naught. After his defeat at the hands of King Louis he found himself in an unenviable position and would indeed have fared badly had the Pope not intervened in his behalf. In his plight he conceived the rather ingenious idea to declare himself for the Catholic Church and to recognize the Holy Father's supremacy. This was a strong feather in his cap and the Pope insisted that King Louis the Great should not harass "a faithful son" of the Catholic Church. King Louis was anyway not a "persona gratissima" with the Pope. His disfavor was due to intrigues of wicked Queen Joanna of Naples, ex-wife of Louis' brother, whom she had ignominiously put to death. And so it came that King Louis the Great and "Czar" Dusan made peace with each other in 1355. Dusan, from being a vassal of King Louis, became a vassal of the Pope; but only for a short while. For hardly had peace been concluded, than he threw all his Catholic vows overboard and expelled the Pope's legates from his country. Troubles then began to

grow fast for him until death overtook him on December 20, 1355.

I thought I would give a little longer synopsis of his meteoric career. I wish to render full justice to his abilities as a ruler and diplomat. I find it impossible, however, to support his country's claim over Bosnia in connection with his reign. Apart from the fact that he had a few straggling followers among the "bogumil" malcontents, he has never actually held sway over Bosnia. Moreover, by virtue of his two defeats by Stephen II and by King Louis, whatever weight he may have carried with his followers and friends must have been greatly eclipsed by the former. His successors amounted to nothing, and in 1363 Stephan Uros, of Ráczország-Servia, was again defeated by King Louis.

MAP OF BALKAN STATES IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

In this connection it is interesting to throw a glance at the map of the Balkans of those days. I have a map of the year 1382 before me, and this is what it says. The banates of Só and Ozora (which then took the place of Northern Bosnia of today) belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary. Also a large part of the Southern Bosnia of our day. The nominal Bosnia of those days began south of Visehrad and Travnik and reached as far as Durazzo and south of Prizrend, where it bordered on the Byzantinian (Greek) Empire. The banate of Macsó included Belgrade and surroundings. Servia proper

was south of it with the cities Stolac, Ravanica, Krusevac and Nis (Nissa). The banate of Szörény was to the southeast of Hungary, in the corner formed by the Danube and the Transylvanian Alps. Havasalföld was bordering on Szörény to the east and Moldva and Bessarabia to the northeast from Szörény. All or most of these banates were at the time of Louis the Great, as also frequently before his reign and after, vassal territories of the kings of Hungary. Croatia was then where Dalmatia is today, under the rule of Hungary; as was a large part of Italy. This clearly indicates that if any historical claims are to be laid on Bosnia and other banates or principalities, as for instance on Servia herself, by anybody, they can be laid by Hungary, and of course, incidentally, by Austria-Hungary.

HUNGARY SUZERAIN OF BOSNIA AND SERVIA.

During the reign of Charles II of Hungary, who was a weakling, Bosnia threw off her Hungarian bonds of vassalship temporarily, but under Stephan Dobisa, King of Bosnia, when Emperor-King Sigismund ruled over Hungary, around 1390, Bosnia submitted to the protectorate of Hungary again. In 1404 she recognized Sigismond definitely as her *suzerain.* Sigismond donated Ozora (see above) to a Hungarian nobleman, John Garay, and joined the banate of Só to the banate of Macsó. As a further illustrating fact of history I will say here that under George Brankovics, adopted son

of Stephan Lazarevics, also called the "despot" of Macsó, Belgrade, Macsó and the fortress of Pokol were incorporated in Hungary (1426-27).

At the time of the world-famous Hunyadi's rule over Hungary, Thomas Ostoja, "King of Bosnia," betook himself personally to the Diet of Szeged in Hungary (1459) and made allegiance to King Mathias Corvinus, as his liege lord and sovereign. Mathias gave Servia to Stephan Ostoja and made him King of Bosnia later, while of course maintaining Hungary's suzerainty rights over both countries.

In 1461 the King of Bosnia, in a fit of unfulfilled ambition, aspired to independence. He asked a crown from the Pope and got it over the protests of Mathias. This, however, spelled ruin to Christian Bosnia, for the Sultan shortly after invaded both Servia and Bosnia, and capturing the Bosnian King, ordered him decapitated. Mathias, although everlastingly engaged in greater conquests in the north and west of his vast realm, could spare enough time to rush down to Bosnia and defeat the Sultan's troops. He recovered Jaica and a large part of Bosnia (1464). When after his departure Jaica again changed hands with the Sultan, Mathias determined to strike a strong blow. He completely routed the Turkish army on October 13, 1479, at the famous battle of Kenyérmezö. Nor was this all; for in 1480 he followed up his success by recapturing Jaica once more and by conquering Uzora, Szrebernik and the surroundings of Jaica.

These territories remained with the crown of Hungary until the battle of Mohács, the battle that sounded Hungary's fate in 1526, when the Turks took possession of a large portion of Hungary.

Bosnia and Herzegovina have since stayed under Ottoman yoke until practically the days of our era, 1878, although temporarily the victorious troops of Prince Eugen of Savoy have progressed as far as Sarajevo (1697).

BOSNIA SINCE 1878. SERVIA'S CLAIM OVER BOSNIA WITHOUT FOUNDATION.

What happened in 1878 with Bosnia and Herzegovina is familiar enough to the American public and need not be dwelt upon with any length. We have been made the trustees of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the will of all the Powers assembled at the Congress of Berlin, to pacify the people of these two countries and to restore order there. Austria-Hungary has carried out her mission faithfully, although this has—in the beginning—cost the lives of many of her soldiers. She has carried out her mission at the expense of her blood and her good money. She has built churches and schools, roads and railway lines, developed commerce, reorganized the finances of these countries and planted western civilization in a place where for centuries the darkest superstition and ignorance reigned supreme.

What right had Servia to call her to account in 1908 and since then, when Austria-Hungary, after 30 years of faithful administration, acquired the

rights of a lawful owner from Turkey, the former owner, with a regular deed of transfer, by paying the price in a regular bargain with the rightful owner? Servia had no claim whatever on Bosnia. She had never ruled over Bosnia, as was plainly shown above; but rather has she been under the rule of Hungary for many years in the past. Austria-Hungary, on the strength of these historical rights, has never laid claim to her territory.

Yet Servia has been using and is still using devious means of a would-be pretender. There are people, apparently many people, in the United States, who seem to give her credit for her alleged claims. Perhaps these people have in mind that there are some Servians living in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that for this reason the two countries had better be united. *But if the theory were accepted that all countries harboring people who speak the same language should be united under one rule, where would it lead to? England could claim to be the rightful ruler over the United States or vice versa, and Spain to be the logical ruler over certain South American states, etc.* This theory would lead ad absurdum and no serious person can really uphold it.

We have charged Servia and have full evidence in hand that, with her official aid she has incited our people in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia and Southern Hungary to high treason and disruption of the monarchy.

Servia ignored the charges, nay, scorned them.

Because of other denial of justice, we were compelled to take the law into our hands. *Thereupon Servia began to appeal to the world in general and to the United States in particular, that she was so small and Austria-Hungary so big and it was unfair for a big fellow to hit a small fellow.*

I do not say that a criminal who stands at the bar in expectation of his punishment, is not deserving of compassion, but would this compassion be well applied if it were to go to defeat the ends of justice, by interfering with the judge, creating public sentiment against him, because he would not yield to maudlin sentiment and enforce law and justice?

This is in substance the case of Servia and Austria-Hungary. But Servia sidesteps again and presents a plea of outraged historical and ethnographical rights. We have in full fairness to Servia's plea tried to discover a ground—if even a flimsy one—to her alleged claims, but find none. I think whoever has carefully read the above analysis will say with me that there is none.

V.—THE GREAT RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA IN GALICIA, BUKOVINA AND THE NORTH-EASTERN DISTRICTS OF HUNGARY BEFORE THE WAR.

When, in the early days of September, news came from Europe that Lemberg, capital of Galicia, had surrendered, this was heralded by the Russians as a tremendous victory. In their highly colored official and semi-official reports, they endeavored to convey the impression that a tremendous number of guns had been captured by their armies prior to the fall of Lemberg, and the number of Austro-Hungarian prisoners, killed and wounded, in their reports, equalled whole army corps.

The day after my arrival in New York from Europe the morning papers placed the number of Austro-Hungarian guns captured in connection with the successful so-called siege of Lemberg at 200. The noon editions based on fresh "authentic" reports from Petrograd raised it to 400, and the *Evening Telegram* came out with a headliner that 2,000 guns had been taken. From subsequent reliable information it appeared, however, that there never had been a regular siege of Lemberg. The Russians approached the city after the Austro-Hungarian troops had left it for nearly two whole days. Not one gun was captured by the Russians on this

occasion, as there were none there. The city had been evacuated in order to safeguard Lemberg against a bombardment and destruction of its public buildings. Lemberg is not a fortified city, and what earthworks there were around the city were of merely temporary character. It was from the beginning, clear to the leaders of the Austro-Hungarian army that it would be well-nigh impossible for any army to hold the entire Galician and Bukovinian frontier against the enemy at every point. This frontier has an extension of about 700 miles, and there are no natural boundaries in the shape of mountains or even rivers, separating the two provinces from Russia.

Apart from these humanitarian and strategic considerations, however, there were other reasons which have also undoubtedly influenced the command of the Imperial and Royal Army to temporarily abandon Lemberg and parts of Eastern Galicia and the Bukovina to the enemy. We are fully aware today that Russia has carefully prepared this war for decades in the past. Just as we know today that Russia was all along the prime instigator of Servia against Austria-Hungary, we know that the late Mr. von Hartwig, her former minister in Belgrade, had been one of the chief conspirators in helping to weave the meshes which should entrap the monarchy in a war with the whole world. We also know that Russia has for many years in the past prepared the ground in Galicia, Bukovina and the northeastern counties of Hungary to facilitate

prospective military operations in those districts. It must have occurred even to the general American public, not familiar with the history and conditions of our countries, that the Russian invasion into Austria-Hungary has been directed against these particular districts. I will endeavor in this chapter to give some general outlines of how these Russian ante-war preparations have been made.

Speaking in broad terms, the great Russian propaganda in Austria-Hungary has been active since 1843. The Russian Panslav author, Pogodin, is credited with having originated this propaganda. From the year 1843 he made extensive travels all over Galicia and tried to sow the seed of future foment. This does not indicate that Russians have not been coveting the conquest of parts or the whole of the monarchy farther back even. This was, however, the first conscious actual move on Russia's part, which resulted in the foundation of the secret "Pogodinian Russo-Galician Colony."

A professor of Lemberg University and other intellectual men entered as members. Their task was to win over the broader masses of the population. The Russian invasion of 1849, in Hungary, acted, of course, as a strong incentive to develop this propaganda. The two leading men of the movement were the Royal Hungarian Councillor, Adolph I. Dobzsjánski (Dobránszky), and later on Ivan Naumovicz, who was both a priest and a member of the Austrian diet. Through their agency papers and pamphlets were issued all over East Galicia,

Northern Bukovina and Northeastern Hungary, advocating the sending out of students and professors to Russian schools and colleges. They were expected to return as trained leaders of the Pan-Russian movement.

I might draw here the attention of my readers to the analoguous way adopted during a good many years by Japan in conducting her Japanese propaganda in China. Through official and semi-official agencies a large number of Chinese students have been for many years attracted to Nippon's shores. To the author, who during his ten years' residence in the Far East, has become more or less intimately acquainted with the people of China and Japan, there can be no doubt that Japan has sinister designs against China. Her methods are those of a persistent propaganda to win over the souls and minds of the nation's future leaders for her cause. Just as it would be a deplorable result for the whole world if the scheming little Japanese plotter ever gained his ends in China, it would be no less regrettable if the arch-plotter and trouble-monger, Russia, were to win against Austria-Hungary and Germany.

Russia's propaganda had one great advantage over Japan's propaganda in China, in that it involved religious motives, and a religious propaganda is the strongest possible ally to the political promoter, as history has taught us many a time. Under the pretext of familiarizing members of the Greek Catholic Church with the alleged superior

precepts and rites of the Russian Orthodox Church, Russia obtained her introduction into many households. Her open advocacy of a political propaganda would have doubtlessly made her suspicious and barred her entry. In this respect the evidence in the famous trial of Olga Hrabar, her father, Adolph Dobránszky, Naumovicz, editor Markow and Ploszczanski, in the year 1882, for high treason, thoroughly substantiates my above comments. But even to a greater extent this joint propaganda became apparent through the disclosures of the sensational trial at Máramarossziget, Hungary, 1913. I will have occasion to amplify this statement hereafter.

The leaders of the Russian propaganda in Bukovina were the Gerowski brothers, grandsons of the above named Court Councillor Adolf Dobránszky. Behind all stood and stands the *"Slavic Benevolent Society"* in St. Petersburg (Petrograd), supplying everybody with money. To a special department of this society the "Galickaja Rus" is entrusted the organized direction of this propaganda. Count Wladimir Bobrinski—the same who carries on the "temporary" functions of a Russo-Galician Governor—was and is the soul of it. Through his efforts hundreds of thousands of rubles were collected to further the Pan-Russian ideas and "Neoslavism" —and in connection with the winning of souls, money was spent lavishly. Count Bobrinski made an extensive trip in Galicia and Bukovina in 1908. He was, if not the star witness, undoubtedly the

most prominent witness in the trial of Máramarossziget. His statement: 'We shall not rest until the Russian flag flies on the Carpathians" is still unforgotten and evidently was a strong feather in his cap to earn him the temporary governorship of Galicia.

To illustrate how far the underground machinations of the Pan-Russian propagandists had gone shortly before the outbreak of the war, I will cite the words of one of the leaders of this propaganda in Galicia. These words were spoken in connection with a visit of Russians in Galicia on July 28th, 1908, to whom this leader wished to express thanks for their visit. "We thank you," he said, "as the representatives of the ruling parties in Russia, that you have not forgotten the *brothers of subjugated Russia.*" This goes to show that they really consider these provinces as parts of the Russian Empire. The reason is evident. Russia, in the course of years, realized that Austria-Hungary, by granting her Ruthenian subjects the free use of their language and other privileges, became a growing menace to Russia's own thirty-five or more millions of Ruthenians in Southern Russia, whom the latter, on her side, had tried in vain to despoil of their language and nationality by amalgamating them completely. Ruthenians in Russia would soon become aware of how much better their brothers in Austria-Hungary fared and would clamor for more rights, which of course Russia, faithful to her reactionary traditions, was unwilling to grant. Hence

her counter-moves in Galicia and Bukovina, in which religious fanaticism was called to play such a prominent part.

RUSSIA'S ACTIVITIES IN GALICIA.

Through her persistent efforts and a gold stream of rubles, Russia succeeded in the last 50 years in winning over the peasants of whole districts, particularly those of Zloczow, Sanok, Brody, Przemyslany, Zborow, Turka, Zolkiew and Zydaczow. I named these because our war experiences up to date have shown that in these districts the Russian invaders have found more or less willing confederates. Had it not been for her underhanded methods and wholesale bribes, Russia, in spite of the tremendous odds in her favor, would never have been able to achieve what little she has achievel in the length of time. I have demonstrated in another chapter that the motley nationalities of Austria-Hungary are all fighting with staunch loyalty for the monarchy's cause. The rumors circulated by the enemy's press to the effect that wholesale desertions have occurred and are occurring daily in the Imperial and Royal army, are bold lies made out of whole cloth. There have been no defections of whatever small proportions. Russia, however, had the population of whole sections on the frontier in her pay, and she has utilized these wholesale bribes to the best of her ability in the course of her military operations. Cyril Krylowski, librarian of the "Duchownaja Akademia" in Kiew, the prime mover

of the Russophile propaganda next to Count Bobrinski, is credited with the ante-war statement that 27,000 to 30,000 peasants had been so well "prepared" by the Russian emissaries that they could be safely relied upon in time of war. In addition to these peasants the Russophile propagandists have never, however, neglected to affiliate with certain intellectual leaders of eastern Galicia; attorneys, judges, college professors, etc. For obvious reasons I will suppress the names of the leading conspirators, although I wish to say that it is hoped that they will be unable to play their sinister part any more.

But above all it was through the organization of societies that the Pan-Russian propaganda in Galicia has received a strong impetus. The "Michael Kaczkowski Society" was one of the leading societies of this genre. It was founded in 1875 to counteract the activities of the Ukrainian (i. e., Neo-Ruthenian) society "Proswita," hostile to Russia. Reverend Naumovicz was its founder, although the name which the society bears is borrowed from the name of a Circuit Court judge who had left his whole fortune (about 80,000 gulden) to public instruction and cultural purposes. Originally this society was a literary club, holding meetings, where lectures on arts and poetry were made. It also issued a periodical. When, however, Reverend Naumovicz was elected to the Austrian Diet, he became entangled with the above mentioned Court Councillor Dobransky, and through

him, with some leaders of Russian society in Vienna. Soon the Russian Embassy in Vienna became interested in him and his society and an annual subsidy of about 12,000 rubles was secured from the Russian Government to further the ends of the society. It is perhaps superfluous to emphasize that thereafter this society was turned into a bulwark of Russophile sentiment. This society numbered approximately 20,000 members at the outbreak of the war.

The Kaczkowski Society is also in close connection with the so-called Stauropigian Institute in Lemberg, which was known to act as the go-between for all financial transactions between this and other societies and Russian Government. When a shortage of funds occurred, when one or the other society was in financial straits, this institute was always found a ready helper *with Russian money.*

Another noteworthy society was the "Russkie Druzyny," which in connection with her fire engine department entertained a whole military organization, and the curious part of it was that this organization used the same commands and a great many practices in force with the Russian infantry.

The "Narodni Dom," a leading national institution in Lemberg, erected to help needy students financially and otherwise, with a large library and museum, has also lately been subjected to strong Russophile influence.

But not only societies and clubs were put into service by the unscrupulous Russophile propagan-

dists. Within the last decade particularly, a number of savings banks, credit and loan associations were founded in some of the cities close to the Russian fontier, in Brody, Kolomea, Sanok, Gorlice, with the more or less apparent purpose of supporting the ends of this propaganda. As late as last year leading directors of these institutes obtained a loan from Russia of two million rubles. The successful outcome of this financial transaction was chiefly due to Count Bobrinsky and the Russian Orthodox bishop in Wladimir Wolysk. The Benevolent Slavic Society in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) has also been a primary factor in all financial aids. It has repeatedly arranged collections in St. Petersburg for "the needs of Austrian Russians in Galicia." One such collection is said to have yielded upwards of 3,000,000 rubles. Money opens almost every gate. Is it to be wondered if the Russian army has found a certain number of confederates in East Galicia? The New York *Evening Telegram* would have been more justified in reporting the "successful capture of 2,000 consciences instead of 2,000 guns" with the aid of almighty "Rubles"!

The Russophile propaganda has of course incidentally made good use of the press. Within the last ten or fifteen years quite a number of papers favoring schismatic and pro-Russian tendencies have been published. One, called *Lemko,* is a periodical, which is sent in many hundreds of copies to readers in the United States, for, strange as it may seem to the American public, Russia entertains

here quite an active pro-Russian propaganda among the Ruthenian immigrants from Galicia, Bukovina and Hungary.

Schools and churches, however, have proved the most effective mediums. When, in the year 1910, a number of schools in Lemberg, Kolomea, Stanislau, Tarnopol, Brody, Zloczow, Sambor, Sanok and Przemysl, subsidized by Russia, were visited by the official school inspectors, it was found that in these schools nothing but Russian was taught. Pupils had been told to hate and despise Ruthenians. Books of history dealt with Galicia as a province of Russia. The only maps found were those of Russia. Is it to be wondered that the pupils, after leaving these schools, were bound to become, when grown up, apostles of the Russian cause?

The Russian Church propaganda in Galicia and Bukovina (see below) was carried on with a great amount of cunning. A distinction must be made here between the Greek Oriental Church and the Russian Orthodox Church. The former is recognized in Austria and the respective congregations are under the orders of the Greek Oriental Metropolitan in Czernowitz. The latter is not recognized. This state of affairs compelled the Russian Church authorities to adopt secret means of propaganda. Ruthenian youths of Austrian citizenship were first sent to Russian monasteries and theological colleges in Russia at the expense of the Russian Orthodox Church. Those who qualified after the termination of their studies were sent back to Gali-

cian villages well supplied with funds and paraphernalia of their church rites and began to make proselytes for the Russian Church. The parents of those youths were only too willing to give them up, as thereby the expenses of their household were decreased; moreover, the future of the boys seemed assured. We know also that Russian popes (this is the current name for the priests of the Russian Church) were sent to Galicia as emissaries to organize the church districts. There were three of such districts at the outbreak of the war: in Grab, Cielaz and Zalucze. Whenever news of conversions of the village people in these districts transpired in large numbers, it was given out that these conversions accrued to the Greek Oriental Church to allay suspicion. Attention was really attracted only when the *Nowoje Wremja,* on June 11, 1909, published an appeal of Archbishop Anthony of Wolhynia. In this appeal mention was made of a committee to erect a Russian church in Zalucze and contributions were also asked and made in Russia for churches in other Galician districts. In 1911, and since the schismatic propaganda became very active, there were isolated instances in which some of the Russian Church emissaries openly harangued the people to break off from Austria-Hungary and become Russian subjects. *As recently as* 1911 *they openly told the people that the Czar's troops were sure to invade Galicia very soon and prepartaions to the effect were in progress.* In a few instances the Greek Catholic clergy also encouraged this

propaganda. It is claimed that the pilgrimages of Ruthenian peasants of Galicia to Poczajew and to Kiew in Russia had been assisted by the Greek Catholic clergy. The brunt of the responsibility in connection with these conversions is, however, laid down to the charge of the Russian emissaries. The latter were also more in favor with the people, because they did not collect regular church fees as prescribed for the clergy of the Greek Catholic Church, but performed their church services gratis.

BUKOVINA AND THE RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

I have given larger space to comments on Russian ante-war activities in *Galicia* because they were at all times more pronounced there than in any other parts of the monarchy. Russian propaganda was, however, by no means a neligible factor in either the Austrian Crownland of *Bukovina,* or the Kingdom of *Hungary.* In the former, as was stated above, the Gerowski brothers in Czernowitz and the whole family of the Gerowskis were leaders of this pro-Russian propaganda. This family, through its relatives and other close friends, has entertained continued relations with the leaders of the Russophile party in Russia. Most of its members were involved in trials for high treason. The names of these leaders I deem it out of place to mention here. This study merely attempts to show to impartial readers, from another angle, that Russia had been preparing for this war against Austria-Hungary

for many years in the past, and her assertions to the contrary are discredited by countless proofs.

The strongest factors in the pro-Russian propaganda in Bukovina were the press and the churches. Kupczanko, editor of the *Swisda,* a violent pro-Russian paper, was involved in a trial for high treason in 1892, but he fled to Russia before punishment could be meted out to him; it is believed with the aid of the Russian Embassy in Vienna.

Another prominent press organ was the *Russka Prawda.* This paper made it its particular task to demonstrate that the Ruthenians had no claim to existence as an independent race of people. Their language was—so it was alleged—merely an inferior dialect of Russian, and Ruthenians were really Russians. This paper also openly disregarded the existence of Austria-Hungary and espoused Russian policies only. It had no regular list of subscribers, but the copies were mailed under cover to a large list of people in Bukovina and northern Hungary free of charge. It was of course subsidized, if not entirely owned by the "Slavic Benevolent Society" in St. Petersburg, as were other similar sheets.

About twenty per cent. of the Greek Oriental clergy in Bukovina has been in the course of time won over to the pro-Russian propaganda. Their activities were of course carried on secretly. One means consisted in the fitting out of pilgrimages of peasants on a large scale to the monasteries near Kiew and Odessa. The expenses of such trips were

borne entirely by the "Slavic Benevolent Society" in St. Petersburg, which also financed similar pilgrimages to Russian monasteries in Palestina (Asia Minor). The pilgrims were in return for gratuitous trips expected to encourage the spread of the schismatic propaganda, to sell Russian prayerbooks, pictures of the Czar and his family, etc., etc.

RUSSIAN INTRIGUES IN HUNGARY.

If the close proximity of Russia had much to do with the spread of a systematic pro-Russian propaganda in Bukovina and Galicia, matters stood differently with Hungary, separated as it is from the Austrian borderlands by a mighty chain of mountains, the Carpathians.

Yet have we heard that quite considerable portions of the Russian army had attempted to cross the passes of the Carpathians and had invaded some northeastern counties. The counties of Máramaros and Ung were the battlefields of these raids. The total number of the invaders was variously placed at from 30,000 to 50,000 men. They were, however, defeated by our valiant defenders and either killed or taken prisoners. At the foot of the Uzsók pass alone 8,000 killed Russians were buried, and it is believed that hardly any were allowed to return to tell the tale. Soon after this ill-fated raid had begun, speculation was rife as to how it was possible for the Russians to cross the Carpathians at all. This huge mountain range, completely encircling Hungary, has always been considered im-

passable for larger bodies of troops and their transports. Subsequent events have of course substantially proved the correctness of this theory, inasmuch as the Russians do not seem to have been able to carry their transports over the mountains. The fact stands out, however, that they have crossed the mountains with their cavalry, infantry and some machine gun detachments. The riddle was solved with the arrival of the home papers. Some of the Ruthenian peasant folk had showed the way to the Russians by scattering about Indian corn and barley on some of the secret mountain roads, which are not in use for the general traffic. Russian scouts followed up these chicken-feed trails and opened the way to the main army. These Ruthenians were of course proselytes of the Russian ante-war propaganda.

It would be utterly unjust—as attempts have already been made in various papers—to brand the entire Ruthenian population of the monarchy as traitors, because some of their number have been black sheep. Nothing would be farther from the truth and real facts. The Ruthenian population has for immemorial time been unswervedly loyal to Austria-Hungary. As a whole body Ruthenians have always been hostile to Russia, and thirty-five million of Ruthenians (or Ukrainians) in Russia will undoubtedly bless the day and hour when they will be liberated from Russian yoke and gain an independent state of their own. Ruthenians have proud historic traditions, and their rejuvenation

would be undoubtedly a hoped-for, splendid achievement of the present world struggle, just as the creation of a Polish Kingdom would be another momentous success.

The isolated cases of Ruthenian treachery are due exclusively to the Russian propaganda before the war. Practically the first news of the Russian invasion into Hungarian territory reached the world from the Hungarian town of Huszt. Now this little town is in the closest vicinity of the township of Iza, which was always known as the hotbed of pro-Russian activities. The people of this township, as well as those of the neighboring villages of Keselymezö and Lipcse are mostly descendants of fief holders from the historic Rákoczy period. There are only very few illiterates among them, and their reputation for cunning is proverbial. They were won over to the Russian Orthodox Church in a similar way as their brethren in Galicia and Bukovina had been. Russian emissaries, styling themselves "apostles of the common people," visited them, bringing prayerbooks and promising financial help. The people in those villages were mostly poor and such aid was welcome. Money being involved, the rumor of these visits soon spread among the population of nearby districts. All of a sudden the population of whole districts began to renounce allegiance to their old churches and priests. The church authorities, blaming the inefficiency of their priests, replaced them by others. The substitutes were threatened in their

safety, some of them expelled from the respective villages. Thereupon the clergy had to apply for the assistance of the state authorities. Investigations which followed gradually disclosed the whole extent of the underground work of the Russian mole.

In this connection two facts are noteworthy: One is that under the Acts IX and XLII, of the years 1868 and 1895 respectively, the Greek-Oriental Church is recognized in the Kingdom of Hungary only inasmuch as it pertains to the Roumanian and Servian Churches. That is, the Russian Orthodox Church is not recognized. The other extant fact is that the Russian propaganda in all of the named districts in Hungary (as well as in Galicia and Bukovina) has had a double purpose. It was both a church propaganda and a political move. The former was and is directed against the Roman Catholic Church. The Holy Synod of Russia never could forgive Rome the loss of a large number of their former church members in the Balkan and other countries, due to concessions of the Holy See in Rome. The new Greek Catholic converts were allowed to retain some of the Byzantinian rites and their mother tongue in the usage of the church. Their priests were allowed to marry, whereas strict celibacy is imposed on Roman Catholic priests. This is why Roman Catholics in Russia have always met with persecution. This is also one of the very reasons why Russia so strongly opposed the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. Russia was afraid of the Christianization of the Orthodox believers in Bosnia and Herzegovina

under our régime. Russia reckoned that by keeping up her religious propaganda in Galicia, Bukovina and Hungary, she would be compensated for the losses which her church had suffered in other countries. What she really wanted, however, was to pave the way to the intended "land grab" by making "spiritual" conquests first. The trials of Iza, in 1903, and of Máramarossziget, in 1904 and 1913, have brought this to the surface so convincingly as to dispel any doubts which may have been formerly entertained in this regard.

As in the case of Galicia and Bukovina, so in Hungary's case a considerable part of the Russian propaganda against Hungarian Ruthenians was carried on by way of America. Here every possible means were used and are being used by the Russian Church, which is a willing helper of Russian Government to foment dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Hungarian Greek Catholic clergy, and inducements are offered to win them over to the Orthodox Church. Fortunately these endeavors have met with scanty success. A considerable number of Hungarian Ruthenians have, however, changed faith, and these renegades were used as go-betweens by the Russians to persuade their friends and relatives in Hungary to follow suit. *Little do the people of the United States know that their country thus has unwillingly and unconsciously also supplemented a few sparks which helped to ignite the firebrand of Europe's war. The Russian bear has been rampaging here on the wayside, as he does all over the rest of the globe.*

VI.—ECONOMIC WAR CONDITIONS IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. THE UNITED STATES AND THE DUAL MONARCHY.

The statement attributed to the famous Austrian general of former centuries, Count Montecucculi, that there are three things necessary to conduct a successful war: "money, money, and money," is probably less known to the American public, than it is to my own countrymen. The same idea has since then been expressed repeatedly by many secretaries of war or of the navy, and other men prominently connected with the war movement of one or the other country.

Under the highly developed present conditions it is not only the actual cash outlay for the maintenance of the army and navy, but the whole national wealth and economic strength which have to be taken into account by any country that goes to war. A country unable to demonstrate financial and economic stability, or at least sufficient stamina to resist the various forms of attacks which are directed against the possessions, property and the whole national wealth of the population while war and fighting are going on is, ab initio, hopelessly beaten by the adversaries who may be in a better position in this respect than itself.

Is Austria-Hungary's financial and economic

strength sound enough to enable her to conduct this war without fear of a financial collapse?

I would like to quote here the comments of Dr. Rudolph Sieghart, President of the Austrian Crédit Foncier (Bodenkreditanstalt) which is probably the strongest financial institute in the monarchy today. Dr. Sieghart was formerly the Austrian State Minister of the Treasury and is a Privy Councillor of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty. His word should therefore carry double or even treble weight, to wit: as the word of a leading banker in Austria-Hungary, of the former first official state expert in matters concerning the finances of Austria, and indirectly concerning those of the whole monarchy, and of an adviser of the Emperor and King.

"The question"—so he says—"whether the people can look with confidence upon the economic fitness of the country to conduct this war, must be unreservedly answered in the affirmative. Austria-Hungary's national wealth is prepared to meet all and every vicissitude that this war may bring. What was weak and unstable has fallen off long since the repeated crises connected with the Balkan wars. What was left is the powerful stock, and this stock is healthy and able to weather storms. Anxieties concerning real estate and other values entrusted to the State administration, the lawful trustees of the people, are utterly absurd and sinful." Dr. Sieghart then continues to state that according to the experiences of the past, periods of

economic advances usually follow periods of war, as was shown particularly after the German-French war, after the war in South Africa, and after the Balkan wars. Modern economic conditions contain a wonderful capacity of recovery. To this capacity it can be ascribed that the wounds inflicted by a war on the whole economic system quickly heal. Dr. Sieghart, in this respect, entirely disagrees with some pessimists who foresee long periods of financial depression for all countries involved in a war. "Above all"—so he continues—"must it not be forgotten that our war with Servia is also an economic war. The unending alarms and the undermining tendencies of this Pan-Servian propaganda were a great drain on our economic conditions."

Dr. Sieghart, moreover, declares that Austro-Hungarian currency or State bonds have nothing to fear on account of the war. Austro-Hungarian currency is established on as solid a foundation as that of any other large country in Europe or elsewhere. State annuities at the present exchange rates would bear 5 per cent., which indicates an unusually high rentability, all the more as nobody thinks at present of converting our State loans. Anybody who would sell these State bonds at a time such as this would cut into his own flesh, as he must lose on this deal. To withdraw deposits from savings banks, or banks, would be even more short-sighted, as the withdrawer loses interest and causes damage to the general community.

With reference to Austro-Hungarian currency it can be stated that both the organization of the Austro-Hungarian Banks, in 1878, and the adoption of a gold standard in 1892, have greatly contributed to place our currency system and our general finances on a very sound basis. The currency reform is chiefly due to Dr. Alexander Wekerle, former Hungarian Premier, who is one, if not the foremost of financial geniuses whom Austro-Hungary has ever produced. The banks' gold was secured from abroad through "gold loans." Forty-nine percent of all banknotes in circulation must be covered by the gold reserve of the Austro-Hungarian banks. The banknotes are exchanged in gold by the bank on demand. The gold reserves of the Austro-Hungarian bank have always been very high. On the average they are higher than those of the Bank of England. The Austro-Hungarian Bank, through its very large number of agencies scattered all over Austria-Hungary, has always well taken care of the needs of the business firms in the whole dual monarchy. Complaints were seldom heard, except that Hungary at times demanded a more evenly balanced division of control between Austria and Hungary. Conditions now, however, are very satisfactory in this, and in fact, all other respects. The present governor of the bank, Dr. von Popovics, was formerly Dr. Wekerle's right-hand aid in the State Treasury Department.

At the time when I write these lines,* official

* From home reports it appears that over three billion crowns were underwritten since then.

wireless messages have reached us to the effect that although Austria-Hungary's war loan was not yet officially opened to the general public, over one billion crowns were almost instantly underwritten. This is certainly a splendid demonstration of fitness, and the alarmists of the hostile camps, who had in the early days of the war predicted both a national and financial collapse of Austria-Hungary, will certainly go away disappointed and mind their own business in the future.

WHAT WERE THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE WAR IN THE FIRST MONTHS?

Because of the suddeness of the outbreak of this world war, business had to face the hard task in the beginning of accommodating itself to the newly created situation. We will see hereafter in what way government in Austria-Hungary was able to assist business in its unexpected predicament.

In the early beginnings of the war, means and ways had to be found by business to readjust conditions which were apt to arise owing to the sudden withdrawal of about two million of men from the field of labor. As was, however, to be expected, the men who left for the battlefields could be almost instantly replaced by the men and women whom they left behind, and by other hitherto unemployed elements. This latter element may perhaps be taxed as shifty in normal times, but necessity, if nothing else, would transform it into a useful pillar of society under the changed environments of life.

Those men who handle business in Austria-Hungary instantly realized that two great dangers must be swiftly and deftly eliminated, if anything like an economic equilibrium should be maintained: the shutting down of factories, which would cause stagnation, and the increased number of unemployed. They set out firmly on their task and as far as reliable information shows, they have to a great extent been successful in solving this problem. They had one strong ally to foot their bills of additional expense, namely, the last extraordinarily abundant crops in the whole area of the monarchy. This was one of the best years for our farmers. They were not even handicapped by a shortage of farm hands to gather in crops, while we read in reports that government in France had to issue orders to the women in France to go out to the fields to collect the crops. Austria-Hungary was undoubtedly in a luckier position than her present enemy.

Mobilization in our country was carried out very successfully. Regiment cadres were filled easily and nearly a million men volunteered for military service up to date who would, under our military rules, not be liable to war service. This favorable result enabled our war office to give permission to a comparatively large number of men who had been called into the ranks to return to the temporary harvest work in the fields. This I can verify from my own experience during my recent sojourn in Austria-Hungary, as on the estate which my family owns in Central Hungary we were allowed to retain

temporarily a sufficient number of field laborers for the necessary harvesting. As the crops could be sold very well and generally brought good prices, it was possible to start with the sowing of the winter seeds and no complications are to be expected in this connection. Agricultural products, cattle, poultry, butter, eggs, etc., all sold well.

Sound agricultural conditions are the foundations of the economic stability of every country. These conditions mean that the larder can be kept well supplied and that the dreaded phantom of famine is merely a myth and a fabrication of our illwishers.

The daily press during the last months brought repeated reports concerning alleged famine threatening the people of Austria-Hungary, especially in large cities. These reports, however, can be disproved in a most authoritative way, and I take occasion further on to demonstrate that these reports lack any serious foundation.

As regards the effect of war on factories we must distinguish between factories and other industrial concerns which benefit from the large orders placed with them by the Government and such as do not. That the Skoda factory in Pilsen, Bohemia, prospers, having supplied some of the large guns which have battered the fortresses of Belgium and France, need not be emphasized. But the same is also true of all the factories which supply arms, ammunition and gunpowder and all sinews of warfare to the army, and it is true also of the Stabilimento Tech-

nico in Triest, the Danubius shipping yard in Fiume and the Whitehead Torpedo factory near Fiume, etc., which execute orders for the navy. All these concerns probably work overtime. The factories manufacturing clothing and wearing apparel for the troops are kept constantly busy. So are linen and underwear factories, factories turning out the winter outfit for the soldiers, tanneries, shoe factories and box factories whose output makes an easy and safe transportation of all requirements of the army to the seat of war possible. Factories providing tin goods and food-stuffs of any kind cannot complain of lack of business.

As to the second category of factories and industrial concerns it can be stated on reliable information from our country that coal mines are working 70 or 80 per cent. of their regular output. There is no scarcity of coal noticeable. Iron industry maintains about 75 per cent. of its usual business. Government has placed with these factories large orders of rails and other necessities for the State Railways.

We admit of course that Germany in this respect is in a more favorable condition than we are. In Prussia, for instance, an investment credit of 1,000 million marks was voted to assist German iron industry.

Cotton mills reduced their business by about 40 per cent., but cotton mills in every country in Europe (including those in England) have likewise been compelled to reduce their business. Sugar and paper industries had to store part of their products.

They are, however, by no means crippled as some people would like to make us believe.

There is one branch of industries which is, it is conceded, more or less at a standstill. To this belong all factories turning out sumptuary articles, which in these warlike times command a limited market only; factories manufacturing fancy articles, glass and porcelain ware, enamel, etc. These industries, however, have always been in the hands of wealthy concerns, amply provided with capital and well able to be good losers. There was anyway some depression in these branches of industry necessitating certain reductions of work and war has not hit them at a time when big business campaigns had been launched.

On the whole, every factory owner is using his best efforts to keep his business running. I deem it appropriate to mention that the well-known patriotism of our business men and loyalty to their country's cause is also a strong incentive to stimulate individual efforts of this kind. Thus employees are not threatened with sudden "layoffs" and, it is surely fair to state, based on sound information, that the number of unemployed during the war in our country, particularly in larger industrial centres, is both absolutely and relatively much smaller than in France and England.

To keep smaller business supplied with credit, "war credit banks" were started both in Austria and Hungary. I will discuss them later, and would like to emphasize here merely, as a general com-

ment, that whether in times of peace or war, as long as means can be created to prevent the stoppage of credit sources, no serious business calamity need be feared.

There is another reason which contributed to some extent to the depression of the business of the last named factories (glassware, porcelain, enamel, etc.), and this is that this business is to a large degree export business. Austrian cut glass, Hungarian enamel, are known all over the world, although the labels "made in Austria" or "made in Hungary" are often replaced by labels "made in England" or "in France," or "home-made," etc.

The trans-oceanic export trade is suspended. There is no shipping possible from and to Austro-Hungarian ports. Railway traffic to neutral countries (Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Roumania, Bulgaria, etc.) is possible, but under conditions rendered more difficult on account of the movements of the troops which naturally monopolize the railways in times of war. Railway transportation is also of course more expensive than transportation on ships.

But when this is said, almost everything is said where the balance is perhaps to some extent a little unfavorable to Austria-Hungary. We must not forget that the interruption of European export trade is by no means limited to Austria-Hungary or to Germany. England's export and import traffic with the European continent has doubtless greatly suffered. According to Rotterdam reports from the end of September the British Board of Trade has

suspended bulletins concerning British imports and exports. The last bulletin issued on the 15th of September showed a decrease of 16.2 million pounds sterling, nearly 80 million dollars in the imports and a decrease of 26.4 million pounds sterling, nearly 130 million dollars in the exports. These decreases refer to the corresponding periods of last year. I am not familiar with the particulars of this depression of export and import trade in Great Britain beyond these above facts and I do not attempt therefore, to draw any comparison or conclusions.

In a general way we can say that Europe's and the world's foreign trade is by this war probably damaged to the extent of about twelve billion dollars. Germany, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Russia, France, are the largest consumers of British products, and these countries are practically excluded from the regular channels of their foreign trade. British India, China and Japan are probably very greatly hampered. Australia can send no wool or meat to the European continent, British India no cotton, no jute, no rice. Neither can China export her rice, nor her silk or tea to her usual customers of long years' standing. Brazil's coffee and cocoa export trade must be greatly impaired and so must Chile's export of nitrate potassium. To what extent the grain export from the United States is handicapped, I am not now in a position to state, but it certainly is impaired too, and so is American cotton export.

There is another aspect to this general gloomy picture. Investments made abroad by European countries in war are threatened. So are goods stored abroad in warehouses. Outstanding claims cannot be easily settled. But all this is equally true for every country. Shipping companies in neutral countries, as for instance in Italy, Holland, decline to carry risks and thus transportation through their medium becomes a very risky game.

Trans-oceanic exchanges have dropped considerably. In Brazil it is claimed, for instance, by about 25 per cent. A natural consequence of this drop is a depreciation of the goods in store held by trans-oceanic import firms. That hits these import firms and they are prevented from granting the usual facilities of payment to the European exporters. Because of the loss in exchange European bills of exchange are too expensive to buy. All combinations as to the bought merchandise are thus thrown completely overboard as this merchandise eventually proves much more expensive than reckoned in the beginning. What is the next result? The European exporter cannot expect payments from his customers. The importer across the sea of course pays interest, but never more than 6 per cent., whereas the exporter in Europe must pay about 7 1-2 per cent. There are many other items which enter into consideration, expenses for travelling salesmen, clerks, rent, taxes, etc. These are some of the drawbacks under which our export trade now labors. Fortunately, however, in this respect, trans-oceanic export trade from Austria-Hungary has

never yet been very extensive in the past. We have always complained of the lack of interest shown by our business men in export trade. These remarks I make especially with reference to countries such as Great Britain, which country stands and falls on her export trade.

If we summarize what has been said concerning general conditions of agriculture, industries and trade, it can be confidently stated, that Austria-Hungary *has stood the test very well.* Her strength of resistance has not been impaired. She has naturally suffered, but not anyway near the extent predicted by hostile wiseacres and far less than feared by her sympathizers.

As malicious reports had been circulated in the foreign press of some countries, whereby sanitary conditions and the credit of Austria-Hungary was attacked, the City of Vienna resolved to issue regular weekly bulletins.

These bulletins concern all questions of public interest in the City of Vienna and in the monarchy.

From the first two bulletins issued on October 13th and October 27th respectively the following data can be gathered:

During the months of August and September of the two respective years, 1913 and 1914, the City of Vienna employment agency has carried on the following business:

	Numbers of cases.	
	1913	1914
Received offers of employment.....	54872	50492
Received applications for work.....	64244	60150
Has procured employment.....	42053	48276

This shows that the city has secured employment to 6,223 more persons during the respective months of this year than last year. Public works and bids for public contracts were kept on regularly and the total result was better than in the corresponding period of last year.

In Vienna over 80,000 families of the men gone to the battlefields received about 7 million crowns a month as an aid by Government. The bulletin mentions here as an interesting item that, since the beginning of war, pawned goods valued at 1,600,000 crowns were withdrawn from the pawnshops under State control. Only people with savings or surplus money would withdraw their watch or household effects from the pawnshop.

Safety deposits decreased during a very short period after mobilization orders had been issued, but later on increased very considerably. So, for instance, the Central Savings Bank of the City of Vienna alone had 17 million crowns more on the 10th of October than on the same day of last year, The total amount of savings in the Vienna savings banks was by 38 million crowns higher at the fall of September, 1914, than at the corresponding date last year.

Provisions and foodstuffs in Vienna are entirely sufficient. Milk, vegetables, eggs, fruit and potatoes are pouring in from the close environments of the city.

The following quantities are registered in the bulletin as imported during the week from 11-17, October, 1914:

	in 1913	in 1914
of vegetables	21828 hundredweights	23496 hundredweights
potatoes	16115	15297
fruit	19257	13991
eggs	398790 piece	499443 piece

The tremendous increase in the number of eggs is certainly noticeable.

Retail prices have during the same corresponding week varied only very slightly:

	1913 Crowns	1914 Crowns
Beef	1.60—2.60	1.80—2.60
Pork	1.60—3.	1.60—3.
Lard	1.84—2.20	1.80—2.10
Bacon	1.74—2.08	1.60—2.
Table butter	3.40—4.24	3.40—4.20
Cooking butter	2.40—3.20	2.40—3.20
Cream pro liter	0.26—0.32	0.26—0.32
Milk	0.20—0.26	0.20—0.24
Eggs pro piece	0.09—0.10	0.10—0.16
Potatoes pro kilogramm	0.10—0.14	0.10—0.14
Flour (wheat)	0.36—0.44	0.60—0.64
Bread (wheat)	0.28—0.408	0.35—0.476
Bread (rye)	0.26—0.398	0.32—0.444
Rice	0.40—0.96	0.48—0.88
Sauerkraut	0.24—0.28	0.24—0.28
Beans	0.40—0.70	0.54—0.76

As can be seen prices have hardly changed since last year. In some articles (bacon, lard, milk, table butter) they have dropped. Flour and bread have risen a little. Large grain and flour supplies are still kept back in an attempt to corner the market, but Government has already taken energetic measures to make "breadusury" entirely impossible.

Reports of the Vienna City tax office clearly illustrate that economic conditions are very favorable.

According to these reports the paid-in taxes for the State amounted to:

	In August		In September	
	K. H.	K. H.	K. H.	K. H.
Land tax	40.182.55	32.171.00	5.094.40	12.694.42
Property tax	10.929.155.84	10.102.858.74	1.195.290.24	1,912.475.63
Industrial tax	1.125.813.41	475.058.18	544.189.63	1.392.122.09
Annuity tax	48.828.13	231.772.89	88.542.58	190.766.69
Income tax	850.592.21	1.182.113.62	1.854.693.51	3.947.388.54
Salary tax	39.977.36	46.296.53	97.758.25	202.392.44
Profit tax		5.312.55		16.043.98
Deferred interest	25.025.17	15.404.51	41.109.08	68.889.39
Military tax	73.706.71	84.247.65	78.754.87	241.313.03
On other income assessment taxes for the State	4.932.000	4.425.000	675.000	1.290.000
For the community	13.296.000	12.191.000	1.574.000	2.692.000
Contributions for guarding the stores	20.000	25.000	3.000	5.000
Contributions for the chamber of commerce	43.000	18.000	20.000	52.000
Contributions for industrial schools	46.000	29.000	34.000	49.000
Contributions for commercial schools	4.000	7.000	4.000	6.000
Provisional income	51.718.62	46.235.67	36.591.52	101.923.79
Crowns	31.535.000	28.916.000	6.173.000	11.986.000

Whereas therefore in August—in the confusion of the first war weeks—the paid-in taxes were 2.6 million crowns less than in the previous year, the paid-in taxes in September were 5.8 million crowns higher and the total of these months 3.2 million crowns higher than in the corresponding period of the preceding year.

To aid the increased credit demands of business people Government organized a *War Loan Society* governed by the Austro-Hungarian Bank with the co-operation of State delegates. This society is authorized to issue bank notes amounting to 500 million crowns secured by mortgages on bonds, merchandise or other appropriate values.

Upon suggestion of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Vienna a *War Creditbank* was also established. This Creditbank allows discounts and credits on drafts (or promissory notes). It will particularly help smaller concerns with no regular bank connections. The capital stock amounting to 6 million crowns was subscribed partly by Vienna banks, partly by merchants and manufacturers. The Community of Vienna and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry assumed a guarantee amounting to two million crowns each.

For loans to even smaller tradespeople the Chamber of Commerce and Industry has set aside a fund amounting to 400,000 crowns. For the same purpose the Community of Vienna permitted the City Central Savings Bank to apply an extra credit of one million crowns.

Women and girls without means of support can get work in the numerous sewing and knitting shops arranged by the Ladies' Aid of the City Hall, where mostly clothing and underwear for the soldiers is manufactured.

To assist clerks and commercial employees a special committee was organized, consisting of delegates of the State and community, which raises funds partly from the employees and employers and partly by securing subventions. Of the Jewish refugees fleeing from Eastern Galicia and Bukovina to Vienna a special committee takes care sufficiently. Press accounts that these refugees had to beg for bread are therefore not true.

Of supplies there is ample provision.

In the city slaughter house and stockyards at St. Marx, Vienna, were killed:

	From October 12-18 1913	From October 11-17 1914
Cattle	4308	7462
Calves	5144	5000
Lambs	96	101
Sheep	1593	2408
Hogs	21728	15981

As regards sanitary conditions—so the bulletin reports—Vienna's excellent water supply and plumbing system are good safeguards against epidemics. Mortality of the population is by 13.7 pro mille more favorable than last year. *Not a single case of cholera occurred in Vienna.*

Schools are going on as usual. Theaters are also kept open. Anybody who reads these bulle-

tins must admit that war conditions in Vienna are certainly anything but unsatisfactory.

War credit banks such as the one mentioned above are also established in Hungary and Bohemia. General conditions in Budapest, Prague and other large cities are equally favorable, although no specified particulars were as yet available at the time when this book was written.

A point of interest is the fact that since July 25th all exchange quotations stopped. This date therefore becomes the legal date in connection with payments to be effected. This date has for instance bearings on the administration of estates. If a man died on October or November the 15th the value of his shares, bonds is fixed according to the last quotations of July 25th; the value of his estate may be therefore overtaxed or underestimated.

HOW DOES GOVERNMENT AID BUSINESS?

We have already seen two ways of Government aid:

1. Permission of war office that field laborers could temporarily leave their ranks and go back to gather in the crops.

2. Help in organizing war credit banks and war loan societies.

The law LXIII of the year 1912 in Hungary authorized Government to issue various ordinances for the welfare of business and public during war times. Thus a moratorium was declared to enable the business world in general and the smaller people in par-

ticular to prepare for ways how to meet their liabilities in times of war. Incidentally it also prevents runs on banks or savings banks.

"Runs" on banks as need hardly be emphasized, are often made in the midst of peace. When in 1910 a "run" was made on the Society for Savings Bank, Cleveland's strongest financial institution, in the course of which, according to President Myron T. Herrick, about two million dollars were withdrawn within a few days, there was absolutely no reason why this run should have started. It was started by an irresponsible person. Calm was quickly restored and the money thus withdrawn was redeposited with considerable additional deposits.

It stands to reason that if such a run can be organized in times of peace, on a first-class and wealthy banking institution, it can all the more be arranged in times of war when people are generally suspicious and afraid. The issuance of a moratorium does by no means indicate disorganized or even weak market conditions. It is simply a surplusage of government caution to prevent the hoarding away of funds which serves nobody's interest. Of course, if a moratorium is found not necessary, as was the case in Germany, this is undoubtedly a sign that the population has an exceptionally keen sense of responsibility for the duties of the individual towards the whole public and government. Moratoriums were for instance declared in Great Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Norway, Roumania, Sweden, Luxemburg, Egypt, Brazil, etc.

To illustrate the working of a moratorium ordinance I will briefly discuss the Hungarian moratorium based on the law LXIII of 1912. This moratorium or government permission to temporarily postpone payments concerns all payments based on bills of exchange, commercial papers, drafts, public warehouse notes, checks and all commercial transactions originating prior to August 1, 1914. Interest can be allowed, if the law otherwise allows the charge of interest. *The moratorium also includes the delay in payment of patent fees* which should be of great interest to American holders of patent rights in Hungary (also in Austria).

Not included in this benefit are the payments on account of interest, annuities and partial amortization of all payments to be made by Government or guaranteed by Government, payments on account of interest on bonds and obligations in use for trust funds of minors (these funds as will be known enjoy the particular protection of Government in both Austria and Hungary); interest or amortization bonds, fees or taxes to be paid for the use of public waterworks and light; payments which go to the Red Cross fund and funds for the families of soldiers in the war; annuities and alimony payments; war risk insurance, if the insurance was made for that purpose or if against payment of a special premium additional insurance risk on account of war was accepted; all ordinary life insurance up to 500 crowns must be paid in full; fire, ice (hail) and animal insurance must be paid in full; other in-

surance against damage only up to 400 crowns; rent, except if the lessee is a soldier (viz., in the army); debts resulting from farm-leases; wages to agricultural, industrial employees, and all other wages arising from a contract between master and servant; fees to lawyers and doctors, engineers, authors, artists, commission agents, inasmuch as these arise from antewar transactions up to 25 per cent. of the amount; sub-contractors' claims against contractors; payments of funds resulting from the administration of foreign property; claims of insurance agents against insurance companies and a few other minor instances. As regards mutual contracts signed before August 1st, one party can claim execution of contract from the other side only, if he has also carried out his part of the contract.

It certainly can be considered as a sign of healthy business conditions that we were in a position to begin earlier than other countries with the successive suspension of this moratorium by decreeing partial payments. Since the 15th of October 25 per cent. of the payments based on promissory notes (or drafts) and 10 per cent. of ordinary standing business debts are payable. On November 15th another 15 per cent. of the latter category of debts became due. This suspension did not cause any particular perturbance. On the first day when the new order was in force, some debtors may have been caught in surprise, but most of them would settle their liabilities on the following days. In many cases the whole debt was paid at once. Cash pay-

ments were very brisk in many parts of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia and Bosnia, where the population had good crops and good profits through Government outlays.

SOME REMARKS ON THE GENERAL POSITION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IN WAR AND VEXATIOUS WAR MEASURES.

With the war going on relentlessly we are growing more callous to the more or less colored reports concerning mutual atrocities committed by the various armies. If we want to be impartial we must say that no army is entirely blameless in this respect, although our present allied enemies attempt through a livelier press campaign to demonstrate that the Germans and we are the more guilty party than they.

There is, however, one particular line of cruelty with which Germany and Austrian reports have in recent days repeatedly charged England and France, that is with their pronounced disregard of property rights of individuals or corporations during the war. Aside from the increasing number of seizures of private property on neutral ships which does not form contraband of war, the arbitrary seizure and confiscation of private bank deposits and bank balances of individuals must be considered an altogether flagrant breach of every principle of international law and international propriety. So for instance British Government ordered, almost at once after the beginning of war, that German or

Austro-Hungarian bank establishments in English cities be either entirely closed or go into voluntary liquidation, Government confiscating their available cash funds. In such a way the Austrian Laenderbank and the Anglo-Austrian Bank in London were practically ordered to go into liquidation and were placed in the hands of Government trustees. These were some of the terms of liquidation: The activity of the bank must be exclusively restricted to transactions begun before August the 5th (British declaration of war). They cannot make other transactions. This order meant to safeguard the settlement of the claims of British creditors and was issued to make all further legitimate business impossible for these banks. British trustees were moreover to superintend all payments effected by the banks, and to see that none be made whereby, for instance, the Austrian stockholders might profit. All surplus resulting after the liquidation of all outstanding claims should be paid into the treasury of the Bank of England. This arbitrary procedure will deliberately damage financial interests and private property of individuals and is without parallel in the history of the civilized world.

In France, soon after the outbreak of the war, an ordinance was issued that all goods in custom houses belonging to Austrians, Hungarians or Germans should be sold at auction and proceeds should go to the Government of France. *This practically means confiscation of private property!* Later on it

was stated that Austrian, Hungarian or German property was placed under State control. No sale of such property should take place. No security however exists that this is carried out and in view of the first ordinance it is indeed doubtful that this is really being carried out.

Neither in Austria-Hungary, nor in Germany have similar ways been adopted. Not even the cars of the International Sleeping Car Company and those of the Compagnie Auxiliaire were confiscated in Austria-Hungary, although there would be great need for them. On the contrary, have both the Austrian and Hungarian Governments made agreements with these companies to be allowed to take possession of the sleeping cars for Red Cross purposes against a stipulated price.

Of course Germany and Austria-Hungary may be led to adopt retaliatory measures, if England and France will persist in similar methods of attacking private property.

England expects her business firms to stop all business with firms which have German or Austrian or Hungarian partners in trade. English firms should not remit credit balances to Austrian or Hungarian or German private individuals or firms, because that would be unpatriotic. Faith and honesty are the two chief factors in commerce. English business men were long known all over the world as ideal business men to deal with. Larger firms in England may possibly not strictly observe this rule set forth by their Government. There are

grounds, however, to assume that the younger firms in the colonies and at home will avail themselves to dodge their obligations. The question is whether such a shortsighted policy does not in course of time bring more harm than profit. England, as I stated above, is eminently the country of export and her foreign trade is all-important to her. Austria-Hungary and Germany have always been England's best customers for her Birmingham and Manchester goods, her Bradford woolenware. Moreover, England has enjoyed the reputation of being called the banker of the world. This reputation netted her huge profits. The whole cotton rembours and the foreign exchange business netted her billions of dollars. England thinks that the war secured her the golden opportunity to ruin Germany's and Austria-Hungary's foreign trade forever. That this will prove a miscalculation the future will no doubt demonstrate.

In the meantime England's and France's war measures have forced Austria-Hungary to adopt or to contemplate the adoption of retaliatory methods. In Austria-Hungary, as was partly above indicated, the enemy's private property was not destroyed, nor confiscated. English and French business firms can still carry on their business. This, however, is now put under the control of the State to the extent that no money should go abroad to the enemy, if such money was acquired in Austria-Hungary in the course of business with our own people and paid by them. Should such money go to the enemy it might

be used against the monarchy and that must be prevented. As will be seen, this is a very different measure from confiscation or sale of private property as ordered in France or from the interdiction in England to banking institutions to negotiate business transactions at all.

In this respect it is further made a duty to everybody in Hungary to declare debts which are owed to subjects or inhabitants of the countries of the enemy. Municipalities, public corporations, societies, associations, private firms and all individuals residing in Hungary are required to make such declarations. The Secretaries of Trade and Treasury can forbid the payment of such debts to the enemy or stipulate conditions that these payments thus due be deposited with savings banks or the Austro-Hungarian Bank. Contraventions of these ordinances may be fined, with heavy fines going as high as 50,000 crowns. In Austria similar ordinances were issued with reference to English and French creditors.

As regards the payments of interest on Government bonds, these payments cannot be made to subjects of countries with which Austria-Hungary is in war. In practice this interdiction is, however, not carried out to the letter. When interest became due on the Austrian gold bonds on October 1st, for instance, payments were made to all bondholders and no questions were asked. It is, however, not impossible, if vexatious British or French war measures against private property continue, that for in-

stance consular affidavits may be demanded in the neutral countries, where these payments on account of interest on Government bonds are effected to show that the bondholder is no British or French subject.

It will be noted also that a considerable number of English and French banks and firms have claims outstanding in Austria-Hungary. These claims arise from loans and ordinary business transactions and they are much higher than the Austro-Hungarian claims outstanding in France or in England. Should England and France simply cancel these claims, then these countries would make a very bad bargain, because if Austria-Hungary should adopt similar retaliatory measures, they would be heavy losers. Even so, these British and French claims will be held as securities that all damage done to Austrian or Hungarian private property in France or England be properly indemnified.

It is very doubtful that England will be able to retain her privileged ante-war position as the banker and broker of all foreign world-trade after the war. Of course, if she should gain a decisive victory over Germany and Austria-Hungary she would be able to dictate conditions to the whole of Europe. But this is a matter of very remote possibility and it is much more likely that Germany and Austria-Hungary will be the final winners, although perhaps their victory may not be of a decisive nature. But assuming that England would have a slight gain in the end, there is no reason to believe that

after peace is re-established, seaports, such as Bremen, Rotterdam or Genoa, will further submit to the monopolization of the cotton brokerage or the Brazil coffee brokerage by Liverpool or London. There is no reason to assume that Berlin or Hamburg or Rotterdam bills of exchange will not replace the London exchange in the world market.

One effect this war will undoubtedly have which can be predicted with sufficient assurance is, that England will lose her German and Austro-Hungarian customers to a very large degree and that this trade will shift to other countries, preferably to the United States.

In making this statement I am not led by any kind of illwish or spite. These sentiments are of course entirely strange to me. I am viewing the whole situation with great reserve and calmness and my interest is that which I have always given to matters of international law or international character. My statement should be merely interpreted as a summary gathered from all the symptoms available at this time in my country. That this summary is more definite in form is due entirely to the continuous vexations to which peaceful Austrians or Hungarians have been exposed in England and in the British Colonies (in Canada for instance), who were not in any way connected with our army or navy. These vexations have naturally caused resentment and are regrettable from every point of view.

SOME COMMENTS ON AUSTRIA-HUNGARY'S EXPORTS AND IMPORTS. RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

The statistics available on the value of merchandise exported and imported from and to Austria-Hungary during the years 1912 and 1913 into and from the countries with which the dual monarchy is in war show that the value of this whole foreign trade amounted to about $165,000,000. Of this amount the share of the various countries was as follows:

1. Great Britain:
   - Total imports from Austria-Hungary for 1913..... $7,709,000.00
   - Exports 4,482,000.00
   - Foreign re-exports..... 1,304,000.00
   - Total value of this trade about.... $65,000,000.00
2. Russia:
   - Total imports from Austria-Hungary pro 1913..... $17,316,000.00
   - Total exports..... 32,628,000.00
   - Total value of this trade about.... $50,000,000.00
3. France:
   - Total imports from Austria-Hungary in 1913..... $20,400,000.00
   - Exports about..... 8,749,000.00
   - Total value of this trade about.... $30,000,000.00
4. British-India:
   - Imports from Austria-Hungary in 1913 about..... $17,500,000.00
   - (Export figures not available.)
   - Total value of this trade..... $17,500,000.00
5. Japan:
   - Total imports from Austria-Hungary in 1912 (in yen) 3,240,674.00
   - Exports (in yen)..... 1,322,254.00
   - Total value of this trade about.... $2,250,000.00

Total value of this foreign trade about..... $164,750,000.00

As can be seen from the above, British Indian export statistics were not available at the time when this tabulation was made. Statistics concerning other British colonies are also missing, so are those concerning Belgium, Servia and Montenegro. If we add the values yielded by the foreign trade of Austria-Hungary in these last named countries, we may conservatively estimate the total value of Austria-Hungary's foreign trade with the countries of her present enemies at about $200,000,000.

The principal articles which entered into this trade were the following:

In the group of exports from Austria-Hungary: Artificial flowers and feathers, artificial tools, antimony, automobiles, beer, brushes, buttons, dye stuffs and colors, chemicals, drugs, coal and coke, coffee, cotton yarn, furniture, fruits (fresh and dried), glassware, glass beads, hides, iron and steel ware (not cast iron), steel bars and rails, tinplate manufactures, wire and manufactures of wire, raw jute, leather and leather belding (unsewn), linen, magnesite, mineral waters, musical instruments, seeds and plants, straw and hay, copra, raw silk, sugar, tanning materials, tin, wax (including beeswax) and paraffin, wine, wood and bark, unmanufactured wool, combed, spun and twisted wool, wool goods.

In the group of imports to Austria-Hungary: Flax and tow, hemp and tow, manufactured goods, raw cotton, artificial silk, woolen piece goods, casings for automobile tires, celluloid in sheets,

malleable iron, axles for railway use, plows, scrap-iron, copper-wire, wares of copper, internal combustion motors, sewing machines, agricultural implements, parts for industrial machinery, electric motors, electric measuring aparatus, metal working machinery, including metal working machine tools, etc.

As I stated above one probable tendency of this war will be to shift the foreign trade of Austria-Hungary and Germany to other countries. We have full confidence that this war will strengthen the dual monarchy instead of weakening it and one indication of this rise in strength is already evidenced in the "come together" movement of all various nationalities in the monarchy. Various men of importance in history have at various times stated that the monarchy of Austria-Hungary is a direct necessity for Europe, some going so far as to say that were the monarchy not in existence, it would have to be remade.

The regrouping of the Balkan powers now and after the war will, of course, be keenly watched by all of us. It is of great importance to decide the future position of Austria-Hungary, as a world-power. We confidently expect, however, that the war will bring a vindication of Austria-Hungary's policies—and victory.

Business and foreign trade are rarely connected with sentiment. Yet, it could hardly be denied that trade relations between Germany and France after 1870 were for a long time strongly under a spell of

sentiment. Great Britain's dominance in the foreign trade has been more or less accepted as a necessity by the whole of the European Continent. But there is no reason why this necesity should be accepted in the future. And it is here in the readjustment of the foreign trade of Continental Europe that the United States can and will play an all-important part!

The mutual relations of the United States and the dual-monarchy were at all times the very best. We never have had friction of any kind. We may have had differences of opinion on the theoretical meaning of the "most favored nation clause" in our trade relations. But these, as I have attempted to show in my book on "Consular Treaty Rights and the Most Favored Nation Clause," have not prevented Austria-Hungary from extending to the United States the fullest measure of courtesy in trade political matters by granting a most favored nation treatment to American imports after 1894. In this year the Wilson-Gorman bill in repeal of the McKinley bill established a duty on sugar from Austria-Hungary. The dual-monarchy was also not allowed the benefits of the United States treaties with France (1898) Portugal (1899) and Italy (1900). Yet, in spite of all, we have continued to maintain our liberal attitude to imports arriving from the United States. We recognize that the United States has never desired to discriminate against Austro-Hungarian trade, but that her theory regarding the most favored nation clause is a mat-

ter of principle with her, based on the traditions of her past. These traditions and this principle we respect. We believe that they will in no way come between us, when our foreign trade relations with the United States will be resumed after the war.

The total imports from Austria-Hungary to the United States have gradually increased from $10,067,970 in 1901 to $19,192,414 in 1913. During the same time exports from the United States to the dual monarchy have increased from $6,963,299 to $23,065,050. The total value of our mutual foreign trade in 1913 amounted therefore to about $43,000,000. The total imports from all the countries with which our country is in war amount roughly speaking to about $80,000,000 to $100,000,000. This amount of trade could easily accrue to the United States in addition to her former imports, which, as was stated, amounted to $23,065,050 in 1913. The articles herein comprised, as can be seen from the above list, are all or mostly such as are produced or manufactured in this country.

It seems to me that our embassies and mutual consular offices could, after the war is over, accomplish no more auspicious task than to see that this readjustment and mutual expansion of our foreign trade becomes true. I wish to asure the people of the great American Commonwealth, that on our side no efforts will be spared to arrive at this result.

Lest it be forgotten, let us say that the United States and Austria-Hungary have also had other relations to entertain with one another. These

relations arose from the remarkable growth of immigration from our country to American shores during the last twenty-five years. This immigration may at times perhaps have somewhat complicated the home conditions of American labor. It will, however, hardly be denied that a very considerable share of the rapid advance of a number of large American industries was due to the industrious toil of the laborers from Austria-Hungary. Solid and honest labor hands!

Let me also point out that our immigrants have always earnestly endeavored to participate in the civic and social welfare work of this country. *They have, when necessity arose, paid their toll of blood to help America and promote American ideals.*

Let me point out to my readers that during their own country's Civil War the small number of Hungarian immigrants, consisting in those days of scarcely 10,000, contributed a contingent of about 2,000 to 3,000 men who have fought for the United States. Seven of these 2,000 to 3,000 have attained the rank of generals. They are General Stahel, who commanded an army corps; General Asboth, who commanded a division and a district; General Schoepf, commander of a division and a fort; while Generals Knefler, Kozlay, Mundee and Pomucz had charge of brigades.

There were others who have attained high rank in the army, displaying thereby not only their loyalty and prowess, but also their efficiency.

The memories of those fallen in the Civil War

have linked our people together. Will the present war thrust them apart again, or will it promote their mutual friendship and esteem?

I would like to see the United States reach out for the other hand from our shores. It is a good honest hand, that will hold hers in her grasp and the grasp will spell *loyalty*.

THE END.

APPENDIX A.

THE NOTE OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY TO SERVIA.*

Presented July 23, in Belgrade.

On March 31st, 1909, the Royal Servian Minister to the Court of Vienna made the following statement, by order of his government:

"Servia declares that she is not affected in her rights by the situation established in Bosnia, and that she will, therefore, adapt herself to the decisions which the Powers are going to arrive at in reference to Art. 25 of the Berlin Treaty. By following the councils of the Powers, Servia binds herself to cease the attitude of protest and resistance which she has assumed since last October, relative to the annexation, and she binds herself further to change the direction of her present policies towards Austria-Hungary, and, in the future, to live with the latter in friendly and neighborly relations."

The history of the last years, and especially the painful events of June 28th, have demonstrated the

* The note of Austria-Hungary and Servia's reply thereto as presented here, are a reproduction of the only authorized English translation of the Servian White Book, which was reprinted by the *Fatherland* in New York. It is much more complete than the version printed by the *New York Times*, which was reprinted by the American Association for international Concilation.

existence of a subversive movement in Servia whose aim it is to separate certain territories from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This movement, which developed under the eyes of the Servian Government, has found expression subsequently beyond the territory of the kingdom, in acts of terrorism, a series of assassinations and murders.

Far from fulfilling the formal obligations contained in the declaration of March 31st, 1909, the Royal Servian Government has done nothing to suppress this movement. She suffered the criminal doings of the various societies and associations directed against the monarchy, the unbridled language of the press, the glorification of the originators of assassinations, the participation of officers and officials in subversive intrigues; she suffered the unwholesome propaganda in public education, and, lastly, permitted all manifestations which would mislead the Servian people into hatred of the monarchy and into contempt for its institutions.

This culpable tolerance, of which the Royal Servian Government made itself guilty, has lasted up to the moment in which the events of June 28th demonstrated to the entire world its ghastly consequences.

It becomes plain from the evidence and confessions of the criminal authors of the outrage of June 28th, that the murder at Sarajevo was conceived in Belgrade, that the murderers received the arms and bombs with which they were equipped from Ser-

vian officers and officials who belonged to the Narodna Odbrana, and that, lastly, the transportation of the criminals and their arms to Bosnia was arranged and carried out by leading Servian frontier officials.

The cited results of the investigation do not permit the Imperial and Royal Government to observe any longer the attitude of waiting, which it has assumed for years towards those agitations which have their centre in Belgrade, and which from there radiate into the territory of the monarchy. These results, on the contrary, impose upon the Imperial and Royal Government the duty to terminate intrigues which constitute a permanent menace for the peace of the monarchy .

In order to obtain this purpose, the Imperial and Royal Government is forced to demand official assurance from the Servian Government that it condemns the propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary, i. e., the entirety of the machinations the aim of which is to separate parts from the monarchy which belong to it, and that she binds herself to suppress with all means this criminal and terrorizing propaganda.

In order to give to these obligations a solemn character, the Royal Servian Government shall publish on the first page of its official organ of July 26, 1914, the following declaration:

"The Royal Servian Government condemns the propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary,

i. e., the entirety of those machinations whose aim it is to separate from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy territories belonging thereto, and she regrets sincerely the ghastly consequences of these criminal actions.

"The Royal Servian Government regrets that Servian officers and officials have participated in the propaganda cited above, and have thus threatened the friendly and neighborly relations which the Royal Government was solemnly bound to cultivate by its declaration of March 31st, 1909.

"The Royal Government, which disapproves and rejects every thought or every attempt to influence the destinies of the inhabitants of any part of Austria-Hungary, considers it its duty to call most emphatically to the attention of its officers and officials, and of the entire population of the kingdom, that it will henceforward proceed with the utmost severity against any persons guilty of similar actions, to prevent and suppress which it will make every effort."

This explanation is to be brought simultaneously to the cognizance of the Royal Army through an order of His Majesty the King, and it is to be published in the official organ of the army.

The Royal Servian Government binds itself, in addition, as follows:

1. To suppress any publication which fosters hatred of, and contempt for, the Austro-Hungarian

monarchy, and whose general tendency is directed against the latter's territorial integrity.

2. To proceed at once with the dissolution of the society Narodna Odbrana, to confiscate its entire means of propaganda, and to proceed in the same manner against the other societies and associations in Servia which occupy themselves with the propaganda against Austria-Hungary. The Royal Government will take the necessary measures so that the dissolved societies may not continue their activities under another name or in another form.

3. Without delay to eliminate from the public instruction in Servia, so far as the corps of instructors as well as the means of instruction are concerned, that which serves, or may serve, to foster the propaganda against Austria-Hungary.

4. To remove from military service and the administration in general all officers and officials who are guilty of propaganda against Austria-Hungary, and whose names, with a communication of the material which the Imperial and Royal Government possesses against them, the Imperial and Royal Government reserves the right to communicate to the Royal Government.

5. To consent that in Servia officials of the Imperial and Royal Government coöperate in the suppression of a movement directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy.

6. To commence a judicial investigation against

the participants of the conspiracy of June 28th, who are on Servian territory. Officials, delegated by the Imperial and Royal Government, will participate in the examinations.

7. To proceed at once with all severity to arrest Major Voja Tankosic and a certain Milan Ciganovic, Servian state officials, who have been compromised through the result of the investigation.

8. To prevent through effective measures and participation of the Servian authorities in the smuggling of arms and explosives across the frontier, and to dismiss those officials of Shabatz and Loznica, who assisted the originators of the crime of Sarajevo in crossing the frontier.

9. To give to the Imperial and Royal Government explanations in regard to the unjustifiable utterances of high Servian functionaries in Servia and abroad who have not hesitated, in spite of their official position, to express themselves in interviews in a hostile manner against Austria-Hungary after the outrage of June 28th.

10. The Imperial and Royal Government expects a reply from the Royal Government at the latest until Saturday 25th, inst., at 6 p. m. A memoir concerning the results of the investigations at Sarajevo, so far as they concern points 7 and 8, is enclosed with this note.

ENCLOSURE.

The investigation carried on against Gavrilo Prinzip and accomplices in the Court of Sarajevo,

on account of the assassination on June 28th, so far, yielded the following results:

1. The plan to murder Archduke Frank Ferdinand during his stay in Sarajevo was conceived in Belgrade by Gavrilo Prinzip, Nedjelko Cabrinovic, and a certain Milan Ciganovic and Trifko Grabez, with the aid of Major Voja Tankosic.

2. The six bombs and four Browning pistols which were used by the criminals were obtained by Milan Ciganovic and Major Tankosic, and presented to Prinzip and Cabrinovic in Belgrade.

3. The bombs are hand grenades, manufactured at the arsenal of the Servian army in Kragujevac.

4. To insure the success of the assassination, Milan Ciganovic instructed Prinzip and Cabrinovic in the use of the grenades and gave instructions in shooting with Browning pistols to Prinzip and Grabez in a forest near the target practice field of Topshider (outside Belgrade).

5. In order to enable the crossing of the frontier of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Prinzip, Cabrinovic and Grabez, and the smuggling of their arms, a secret system of transportation was organized by Ciganovic. The entry of the criminals with their arms into Bosnia and Herzegovina was effected by the frontier captains of Shabatz (Rade Popovic) and of Loznica, as well as by the custom house official Rudivoy Grbic of Loznica with the aid of several other persons.

THE SERVIAN ANSWER.

Presented at Vienna, July 25th, 1914.

(With Austria-Hungary's commentaries, which are presented under quotation marks.)

The Royal Government has received the communication of the Imperial and Royal Government of the 23d inst. and is convinced that its reply will dissipate any misunderstanding which threatens to destroy the friendly and neighborly relations between the Austrian monarchy and the kingdom of Servia.

The Royal Government is conscious that nowhere there have been renewed protests against the great neighborly monarchy like those which at one time were expressed in the Skuptschina, as well as in the declaration and actions of the responsible representatives of the state at that time, and which were terminated by the Servian declaration of March 31st, 1909; furthermore, that since that time neither the different societies of the kingdom nor the officials have made an attempt to alter the political and judicial condition created in Bosnia and the Herzegovina. The Royal Government states that the I. and R. Government has made no protestation in this sense, excepting in the case of a textbook, in regard to which the I. and R. Government has received an entirely satisfactory explanation. Servia has given during the time of the Balkan crisis in numerous cases evidence of her pacific and moderate policy, and it is owing to Servia and

the sacrifices which she has brought in the interest of the peace of Europe that this peace has been preserved.

"The Royal Servian Government limits itself to establishing that since the declaration of March 31st, 1909, there has been no attempt on the part of the Servian Government to alter the position of Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

"With this she deliberately shifts the foundation of our note, as we have not insisted that she and her officials have undertaken anything official in this direction. Our gravamen is that, in spite of the obligation assumed in the cited note, she has omitted to suppress the movement directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy.

"Her obligation consisted in changing her attitude and the entire direction of her policies, and in entering into friendly and neighborly relations with the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and not only not to interfere with the possession of Bosnia."

The Royal Government cannot be made responsible for expressions of a private character, as for instance newspaper articles and the peaceable work of societies, expressions which are of very common appearance in other countries, and which ordinarily are not under the control of the state. This, all the less, as the Royal Government has shown great courtesy in the solution of a whole series of questions which have arisen between Servia and Austria-

Hungary, whereby it has succeeded to solve the greater number thereof. in favor of the progress of both countries.

"The assertion of the Royal Servian Government that the expressions of the press and the activity of Servian associations possess a private character, and thus escape government control, stands in full contrast with the institutions of modern states and even the most liberal of press and society laws, which nearly everywhere subject the press and the societies to a certain control of the state. This is also provided for by the Servian institutions. The rebuke against the Servian Government consists in the fact that it has totally omitted to supervise its press and its societies, in so far as it knew their direction to be hostile to the monarchy."

The Royal Government was therefore painfully surprised by the assertions that citizens of Servia had participated in the preparations of the outrage in Sarajevo. The Government expected to be invited to coöperate in the investigation of the crime, and it was ready, in order to prove its complete correctness, to proceed against all persons in regard to whom it would receive information.

"This assertion is incorrect. The Servian Government was accurately informed about the suspicion resting upon quite definite personalities, and not only in the position, but also obliged by its own

laws to institute investigations spontaneously. The Servian Government has done nothing in this direction."

According to the wishes of the I. and R. Government, the Royal Government is prepared to surrender to the court, without regard to position and rank, every Servian citizen, for whose participation in the crime of Sarajevo it should have received proof. It binds itself particularly on the first page of the official organ of the 26th of July to publish the following enunciation:

> "The Royal Servian Government condemns every propaganda which should be directed against Austria-Hungary, i. e., the entirety of such activities as aim towards the separation of certain territories from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and it regrets sincerely the lamentable consequences of these criminal machinations."

The Austrian demand reads:

> "The Royal Servian Government condemns the propaganda against Austria-Hungary. . . ."

"The alteration of the declaration as demanded by us, which has been made by the Royal Servian Government, is meant to imply that a propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary does not exist, and that it is not aware of such. This formula is insincere, and the Servian Government reserves itself

the subterfuge for later occasions that it had not disavowed by this declaration the existing propaganda, nor recognized the same as hostile to the monarchy, whence it could deduce further that it is not obliged to suppress in the future a propaganda similar to the present one."

The Royal Government regrets that according to a communication of the I. and R. Government certain Servian officers and functionaries have participated in the propaganda just referred to, and that these have therefore endangered the amicable relations for the observation of which the Royal Government had solemnly pledged itself through the declaration of March 31st, 1909.

"The Government . . . identical with the demanded text."

The formula as demanded by Austria-Hungary reads:

> "The Royal Government regrets that Servian officers and functionaries . . . have participated. . . ."

"And with this formula and the further addition, 'according to the declaration of the I. and R. Government,' the Servian Government pursues the object, already indicated above, to preserve a free hand for the future."

The Royal Government binds itself further:

1. During the next regular meeting of the Skuptschina to embody in the press laws a clause, to wit, that the incitement to hatred of, and contempt for, the monarchy is to be most severely punished, as well as every publication whose general tendency is directed against the territorial integrity of Austria-Hungary.

It binds itself in view of the coming revision of the constitution to embody an amendment into Art. 22 of the constitutional law which permits the confiscation of such publications as is at present impossible according to the clear definition of Art. 22 of the constitution.

Austria-Hungary had demanded:

"1. To suppress every publication which incites to hatred and contempt for the monarchy, and whose tendency is directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy.

"We wanted to bring about the obligation for Servia to take care that such attacks of the press would cease in the future.

"Instead Servia offers to pass certain laws which are meant as means towards this end, viz.:

"(a) A law according to which the expressions of the press hostile to the monarchy can be individually punished, a matter which is immaterial to us, all the more so as the individual prosecution of press intrigues is very rarely possible and as, with a lax enforcement of such laws, few cases of this nature would be punished. The proposition, there-

fore, does not meet our demand in any way, and it offers not the least guarantee for the desired success.

"(b) An amendment to Art. 22 of the constitution, which would permit confiscation, a proposal which does not satisfy us, as the existence of such a law in Servia is of no use to us. For we want the obligation of the Government to enforce it and that has not been promised us.

"These proposals are, therefore, entirely unsatisfactory and evasive as we are not told within what time these laws will be passed, and as in the event of the not-passing of these laws by the Skuptschina everything would remain as it is, excepting the event of a possible resignation of the Government."

2. The Government possesses no proofs, and the note of the I. and R. Government does not submit them that the society Narodna Odbrana and other similar societies have committed, up to the present, any criminal actions of this manner through anyone of their members. Notwithstanding this, the Royal Government will accept the demand of the I. and R. Government and dissolve the society Narodna Odbrana, as well as every society which should act against Austria-Hungary.

"The propaganda of the Narodna Odbrana and affiliated societies hostile to the monarchy fills the entire public life of Servia; it is, therefore, an entirely inacceptable reserve, if the Servian Govern-

ment asserts that it knows nothing about it. Aside from this, our demand is not completely fulfilled as we have asked besides:

"To confiscate the means of propaganda of these societies to prevent the reformation of the dissolved societies under another name and in another form."

"In these two directions the Belgrade Cabinet is perfectly silent, so that through this semi-concession there is offered us no guarantee for putting an end to the agitation of the associations hostile to the monarchy, especially the Narodna Odbrana."

3. The Royal Servian Government binds itself without delay to eliminate from the public instruction in Servia anything which might further the propaganda directed against Austria-Hungary, provided the I. and R. Government furnishes actual proofs.

"Also in this case the Servian Government first demands proof for a propaganda hostile to the monarchy in the public instruction of Servia, while it must know that the textbooks introduced in the Servian schools contain objectionable matter in this direction, and that a large portion of the teachers are in the camp of the Narodna Odbrana and affiliated societies.

"Furthermore, the Servian Government has not fulfilled a part of our demands, as we have requested, as it omitted in its text the addition desired by us: 'as far as the body of instructors is con-

cerned, as well as the means of instruction'—a sentence which shows clearly where the propaganda hostile to the monarchy is to be found in the Servian schools."

4. The Royal Government is also ready to dismiss those officers and officials from the military and civil services in regard to whom it has been proved by judicial investigation that they have been guilty of actions against the territorial integrity of the monarchy; it expects that the I. and R. Government communicate to it for the purpose of starting the investigation the names of these officers and officials, and the facts with which they have been charged

"By promising the dismissal from the military and civil services of those officers and officials who are found guilty by judicial procedure, the Servian Government limits its assent to those cases in which these persons have been charged with a crime according to the statutory code. As, however, we demand the removal of such officers and officials as indulge in a propaganda hostile to the monarchy which is generally not punishable in Servia, our demands have not been fulfilled in this point."

5. The Royal Government confesses that it is not clear about the sense and the scope of that demand of the I. and R. Government which concerns the obligation on the part of the Royal Servian Gov-

ernment to permit the coöperation of officials of the I. and R. Government on Servian territory, but it declares that it is willing to accept every coöperation which agrees with international law and criminal law as well as with friendly and neighborly relations.

"The international law, as well as the criminal law, has nothing to do with this question; it is purely a matter of the nature of state police which is to be solved by way of a special agreement. The reserved attitude of Servia is therefore incomprehensible, and on account of its vague general form it would lead to unbridgeable difficulties."

6. The Royal Government considers it its duty as a matter of course to begin its investigation against all those persons who have participated in the outrage of June 28th and who are in its territory. As far as the coöperation in this investigation of specially delegated officials of the I. and R. Government is concerned, this cannot be accepted, as this is a violation of the constitution and of criminal procedure. Yet in some cases the result of the investigation might be communicated to the Austro-Hungarian officials.

The Austrian demand was clear and unmistakable:

"1. To institute a criminal procedure against the participants in the outrage.

"2. Participation by I. and R. Government officials in the examinations ('Recherche' in contrast with 'enquête judiciaire')."

"3. It did not occur to us to let I. and R. Government officials participate in the Servian court procedure; they were to coöperate only in the police researches which had to furnish and fix the material for the investigation.

"If the Servian Government misunderstands us here, this is done deliberately, for it must be familiar with the difference between "enquête judiciaire" and simple police researches. As it desired to escape from every control of the investigation which would yield, if correctly carried out, highly undesirable results for it, and as it possesses no means to refuse in a plausible manner the coöperation of our officials (precedents for such police intervention exist in great numbers), it tries to justify its refusal by showing up our demands as impossible."

7. The Royal Government had ordered on the evening of the day on which the note was received the arrest of Major Voislar Tankosic. However, as far as Milan Ciganovic is concerned, who is a citizen of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and who had been employed till June 28th with the Railroad Department, it has as yet been impossible to locate him, wherefore a warrant has been issued against him.

The I. and R. Government is asked to make known, as soon as possible, for the purpose of con-

ducting the investigation, the existing grounds for suspicion and the proofs of guilt obtained in the investigation at Sarajevo.

"This reply is disingenuous. According to our investigation, Ciganovic, by order of the police prefect in Belgrade, left three days after the outrage for Ribari, after it had become known that Ciganovic had participated in the outrage. In the first place, it is, therefore, incorrect that Ciganovic left the Servian service on June 28th. In the second place, we add that the prefect of police at Belgrade, who had himself caused the departure of this Ciganovic and who knew his whereabouts, declared in an interview that a man by the name of Milan Ciganovic did not exist in Belgrade."

8. The Servian Government will amplify and render more severe the existing measures against the suppression of smuggling of arms and explosives.

It is a matter of course, that it will proceed at once against, and punish severely, those officials of the frontier service on the line Shabatz-Loznica who violated their duty and who have permitted the perpetrators of the crime to cross the frontier.

9. The Royal Government is ready to give explanations about the expressions which its officials in Servia and abroad have made in interviews after the outrage and which, according to the assertion of the I. and R. Government, were hostile to the mon-

archy. As soon as the I. and R. Government points out in detail where those expressions were made and succeeds in proving that those expressions have actually been made by the functionaries concerned, the Royal Government itself will take care that the necessary evidences and proofs are collected therefor.

"The Royal Servian Government must be aware of the interviews in question. If it demands of the I. and R. Government that it should furnish all kinds of detail about the said interviews and reserves for itself the right of a formal investigation, it shows that it is not its intention seriously to fulfill the demand."

The Royal Government will notify the I. and R. Government, as far as this has not been already done by the present note, of the execution of the measures in question as soon as one of these measures has been ordered and put into execution.

The Royal Servian Government believes it to be to the common interest not to rush the solution of these affairs, and it is, therefore, in case the I. and R. Government should not consider itself satisfied with this answer, ready, as ever, to accept a peaceable solution, be it by referring the decision of this question to the International Court at The Hague or by leaving it to the decision of the Great Powers who have participated in the working out of the

declaration given by the Servian Government on March 31st, 1909.

"The Servian note. therefore, is entirely a play for time."

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APPENDIX B.

PETER THE GREAT'S WILL.

According to the document, Peter enjoins the Russians to observe these instructions as the Jews observed the laws of Moses, and prophesies that they will be successful.

1. Russia must keep her men continually in training for war. She should be at peace only when it is necessary for her to recuperate financially. Thus war must serve peace, and peace war for the greater glory of Russia.

2. Every able general, every learned man among the best instructed nations of Europe that can be induced to settle in the dominions of the Czar is an advantage gained.

3. We must take part in all the affairs of Europe. We must especially sow and foster discord in Germany.

4. Poland must be divided. We can let the neighboring powers have a share until we can retake what we have yielded.

5. Sweden must be subjugated, therefore we must separate Sweden from Denmark and keep up a rivaly between them.

6. The wives of Russian princes should always

be chosen among the German princesses, to increase our influence in Germany.

7. Commercially, we must ally ourselves with England. We need English gold and want her seamen and traders to teach ours.

8. We must incessantly extend ourselves along the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea.

9. We must advance towards Constantinople and India. When we have India we can do without English gold, for the power which holds the wealth of India is the true mistress of the world. We must make war continually upon both Turkey and Persia until we have compassed the downfall of both. We must try to revive the ancient commerce of the Levant and Syria with Europe and India.

10. We must promise to Austria our help in making her mistress of all Germany, and must excite the jealousies of the German princes against her.

11. We may give Austria a share of Turkey when we drive the Turks from Europe. What we give her, we can retake afterward.

12. All adherents of the Greek churches in Hungary, Turkey and Poland we must support. They will be our friends in the midst of the enemies' country.

13. When Sweden, Persia, Poland and Turkey have been subjugated, when the Baltic and the Black Seas are guarded by our ships, we must first offer to France, and, if she refuses, to Austria, to

share the world with her. Thus using one to destroy the other, we can rush the remaining one at our ease.

14. If both refuse we must excite their jealousies until they exhaust each other by continual wars. Then Germany must be attacked with overwhelming forces. When Germany and France are overcome, the rest of Europe will immediately submit to us. Thus can and must Europe be subdued.

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